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**RESEARCH STUDIES**  
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# RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## LEISURE — A FIELD FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

*University of Southern California*

Three hundred years ago, when the first English colonies were planted in America, the prevailing attitude toward idleness was one of detestation. Work was enforced and amusements were prohibited. Yet even the first Thanksgiving at Plymouth was something more than an occasion for prayer. The pilgrims exercised their arms and for three days entertained and feasted the Indians. In spite of restrictions, the early Americans learned to enjoy their brief moments of leisure in many ways.<sup>2</sup> Husking bees and tavern sports were occasions for enjoyment. Colonial aristocracy found diversion in concerts, card-playing, and social life. The amusements of the frontier—the cow-towns and mining camps—consisted frequently of dram-drinking, gambling, and shooting. In the settled communities, life was relatively simple, and popular diversions conformed to traditional patterns.

The changing society of the nineteenth century ushered in changes in recreation as far-reaching as those in other phases of national life. New trends were in evidence during those turbulent, expansive years. Moral approval was given to many new and old forms of amusements. The theater became popular, the day of the circus was at hand, spectator sports emerged, summer resorts were established and pleasure traveling was enjoyed by the wealthy, newspapers and magazines were made available to the common people, the world of fashion affected leisure habits, and Main Street became the hub of town life. Even in rural areas new forms of recreation emerged. But it was the city that produced the most profound changes in the recreation habits of the American people.

The twentieth century witnessed the expansion of the printed page and a new interest in reading, the growth of movies, the advent of the automobile, and the sudden emergence of the radio as four of the most common means of enjoying leisure. Many millions of Americans read

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<sup>1</sup>Presidential address.

<sup>2</sup>See Foster R. Dulles, *America Learns to Play* (New York, 1940).

newspapers, magazines, and books regularly. From seventy-seven million to over a hundred million people attend movies every week, according to various estimates. America has been characterized as a "nation on wheels." The people in the United States have forty-three million radio sets. Of the 63,794 licensed radio stations, 53,558 are operated by amateurs, and 774 are standard public broadcasting stations.<sup>3</sup>

Until recently, only the well-to-do had enough leisure to be concerned about the use of it. Now we are thinking in terms of leisure for everybody, which may yet become one of the most revolutionary things that have ever happened in social life. The increase of leisure is becoming the subject of discussion in many circles. Indeed, the rulers of totalitarian states have already embraced it as an integral part of their programs, as evidenced by the Italian "Dopolavoro" program and the "Kraft durch Freude" program of Germany. L. H. Weir, in *Europe at Play*,<sup>4</sup> devotes considerable space to a discussion of the recreational organizations, facilities, and activities of the totalitarian states. Unfortunately, leisure in these countries is organized primarily for the purpose of propaganda, for stimulating and sustaining the attitude of loyalty toward the state, and for keeping people fit for military purposes. Another feature of the recreation programs of the totalitarian states is that they consist largely of mass activities. Eduard C. Lindeman contends that "a planned system of recreation resulting in the production of standardized automotons suitable only for mechanized action as parts of a great mass is in itself a denial of the true concept of leisure."<sup>5</sup>

America has progressively increased the leisure time of the masses, and as Foster R. Dulles has indicated in *America Learns to Play*, many forms of recreation have been engaged in by all, rich and poor, from colonial times to the present. Although we have commercialized much of our leisure, the American people have developed a wide variety of recreational and cultural pursuits. Leisure for all is here. Though it has been coming for a long time, it has increased with such suddenness in recent years that few are aware of its far-reaching significance.

Leisure is commonly thought of as the surplus of time remaining after the formal duties and practical necessities of life have been at-

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<sup>3</sup> Compare C. B. Rose, Jr., *National Policy for Radio Broadcasting* (New York, 1940), p. 21; and Julius Weinberger, "Basic Economic Trends in the Radio Industry," *Proceedings of the I. R. E.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 11 (November, 1939).

<sup>4</sup> New York, 1937.

<sup>5</sup> *Leisure. A National Issue* (New York, 1939), p. 12.

tended to. It is free time, enabling a person to do as he chooses. Recreation has reference to a wide range of activities, both individual and collective, which have their own drives. Being relatively free and joyful, they absorb the interests of the participant and tend to satisfy his basic wishes. The term "recreation" has become a sort of rallying word for those who are interested in the creative and cooperative expressions of personality through games and sports, athletics, the play of children, and also certain cultural pursuits. Hence most of the free-time activities are recreational in nature. We pursue them because we want to, and they provide enjoyment of one type or another.

Leisure activities are a fruitful field for study. They cover so many interests and aspects of life, both personal and social, that nearly every scientist can find some aspect of them which he may study with profit. Serious and authoritative studies of leisure have been made by social scientists, but it must be admitted that, although considerable progress has been made in this field, we are still far behind advances made in other fields, such as economics, education, religion, and social welfare. The reasons for it are obvious. We are not yet fully conscious of the extent and importance of leisure and recreation. Professional leaders in the field are few in number as compared with much larger numbers engaged in teaching, religious and social work, and governmental occupations. The wide scope of leisure pursuits makes it difficult to develop simplified techniques of research. Besides, this is an area of life which does not invite study.

The literature on leisure and recreation may be classified into four types: (1) Scientific research material which has been produced as the result of painstaking study. Lundberg's survey of *Leisure: A Suburban Study*,<sup>6</sup> Steiner's *Americans at Play*,<sup>7</sup> and the *Chicago Recreation Survey*<sup>8</sup> may be cited as examples of careful studies, indicative of possibilities of research in this field. (2) Another type of material consists of practical surveys designed for specific purposes. Park boards, recreation departments, school authorities, and social agencies make limited studies of needs to guide them in developing programs. The limitation of funds, the lack of trained investigators, and the inadequate time available for careful studies make comprehensive surveys well-nigh impossible. (3) Another type of literature

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<sup>6</sup> New York, 1934.

<sup>7</sup> New York, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> New York, 1937-40.

includes sport pages of newspapers, magazines devoted to amusements, books dealing with hobbies, and similar material designed to entertain the readers, to promote some form of recreation, and to advertise coming attractions. (4) Still another group of publications may be characterized as hortatory and moralistic. This type of material sometimes goes under the guise of research reports. These four forms of literature tend to merge into each other. Our concern here is with the studies that involve scientific procedures.

G. M. Gloss,<sup>\*</sup> in a recent survey of the literature on recreation research classified the material under: (1) history and recent trends, (2) youth and leisure, (3) general sociological effects, (4) recreation and education, (5) public recreation, (6) economic effects, (7) professional aspects, and (8) personal health and recreation. Some of these areas of study may be subdivided into a number of common basic related divisions, such as facilities, activities, administration, finance, legislation, leadership, social aspects and effects.

Studies of leisure and recreation range all the way from systematic surveys, costing considerable sums of money, to informal investigations made by individuals during their spare time and usually at their own expense. The various general methods and specific techniques of research include the historical, statistical, comparative, case study, interview, questionnaire, participant observation, survey, experimental, analytical, or any combination of these.

It is not our purpose to canvass the entire range of possible studies but to examine several outstanding forms of research which are of special interest to social scientists. These are areas in which students of the social phases of leisure have made their best contributions.

Considerable attention has been given to the study of recreation interests and habits. The questionnaire technique is the method usually employed in such studies. Few investigators have carefully defined and differentiated between interests, wishes, attitudes, and habits—concepts which have been emphasized by psychologists and sociologists during recent years—but a great deal of thought has been given to questionnaire forms and interview schedules.

The use of the questionnaire form goes back to the nineteenth century. It was popularized by G. Stanley Hall and his associates. The first questionnaires used in the study of recreation were very simple, and the results were of doubtful value. Monroe, for instance,

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<sup>\*</sup> *Recreation Research* (Baton Rouge, La., 1940), p. 7.

simply asked, "What games do you like to play in summer, and why?" Other questionnaires have been more complex and comprehensive. The newer forms usually involve check lists of activities and simple questions which can be easily answered. Lehman and Witty<sup>10</sup> used a long check list of two hundred items to ascertain the extent of participation, the play activities best liked, and those consuming the greatest amount of time. This form was used for children and young people. Among the significant findings may be mentioned the discovery that continuity in play behavior is more evident than periodicity. They found that there is considerable permanence of the play interest of groups of children of various ages—contrary to the older notion that a child tends to pass through definite play periods, a conception which was in part a holdover of Hall's recapitulation theory. The changes in play interests are more gradual, with a general tendency to engage in fewer activities as one grows older. Reading the newspaper, particularly the funny page, was regarded as the most common form of leisure activity by all age and sex groups. Lehman and Witty found also that there are fewer sex differences in recreation than was true formerly, although boys still favor active, organized, and competitive games more than girls, and girls prefer more sedentary activities. Rural and urban variations in play are due largely to the differences in social situations, and the race variations are explainable largely by reference to the differences in economic and cultural background.

The National Recreation Association made a study of the *Leisure Hours of 5,000 People*<sup>11</sup>, using a questionnaire designed largely for adults in all walks of life. "The three major objectives of the study were to determine (1) what people are doing in their free time, either occasionally or often, (2) what changes have occurred in the use of their free time during the past year or so, and (3) what they would really enjoy doing if the opportunity were afforded."<sup>12</sup> A total of ninety-four leisure activities were listed in the questionnaire. It was found that reading, listening to the radio, attending movies, visiting and entertaining others, and auto-riding for pleasure were the outstanding leisure activities reported by the largest number of people. The average person engaged in twenty-five different activities. That the economic depression affected the uses of leisure is evidenced by the

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<sup>10</sup> *The Psychology of Play Activities* (New York, 1927), pp. 37-40

<sup>11</sup> New York, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.



fact that participation in home activities increased 64 per cent during the early years of the depression, whereas outside activities increased only 5 per cent. Participation in commercial recreation decreased by one-third, but educational, social, dramatic, and musical activities outside of the home were participated in more frequently than previously. The inexpensive, indoor, individual, quiet, and passive activities were favored. But when the persons were asked what they desired to do, a very different list of items was checked, including for the most part outside activities, many of which are costly.

Sorokin and Berger<sup>12</sup> studied the time-budgets of a selected number of people in order to ascertain how they spent their time during twenty-four-hour periods, and how the use of time on a week-day (Tuesday) differed from the use of time on Saturday and Sunday. Fifty-five forms of overt activities were listed, which in turn were classified into eight larger categories: (1) activities directly satisfying physiological needs, (2) activities of economic and chore nature, (3) societal, (4) religious, (5) intellectual, (6) artistic, (7) love and courtship, and (8) miscellaneous pleasurable activities. The things that can be classified as non-leisure pursuits, including most of the items in the first two groups, occupy 18 hours and 15.7 minutes of time per day, so that 5 hours and 44.3 minutes a day remain for things which are primarily of a free-time nature. It is, of course, difficult to classify any activity as purely a necessity and another as purely a leisure pursuit. The various societal activities consumed a little over one and one-third hours, the cultural activities (religious, intellectual, and artistic) approximately two hours, love and courtship less than ten minutes, and miscellaneous pleasurable events an hour and a half. More leisure is available on Saturdays and Sundays than on a week-day.

Many forms of questionnaires have been used in the study of leisure and recreation. Most of them involve "yes" or "no" responses or checking items on a printed list. Quantitative answers and numerical percentages are made possible by requiring the respondents to give specific answers. Some forms allow individuals to write freely or to answer questions briefly but informally. Play tests are designed to ascertain how much people know about certain forms of recreation. Opinion tests enable the investigator to pool or average reactions of people and to get information quickly from a large number of persons who are in a position to know.

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<sup>12</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin and Clarence Q. Berger, *Time-Budgets of Human Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

Questionnaires enable investigators to gather a mass of information from a large number of persons in a short time, to ascertain the extent of the major recreation interests and habits of the people, and to measure trends of development. To get the best results, the study must be adequately sponsored and have the full approval and support of those in authority, the purpose of the study must be frankly stated and the topic be worthy of serious consideration, the questionnaire form must be well organized and the questions clearly worded, care must be exercised in selecting the respondents (to get a fair sample) and in distributing the forms, and the mechanics of the questionnaire must make tabulations of results possible.

Even the most carefully prepared questionnaire involves difficulties. People forget some of the things they have participated in. The most recent activities and those most enjoyed are remembered best. Indicating the most popular recreation is difficult. Carelessness in filling out forms, or answering questions to please the investigator, makes results unreliable. The socially tabooed amusements are usually not included, and hence no complete picture of leisure habits is obtained. Most investigators omit consideration of such items as gambling, drinking, use of drugs, smoking, prostitution, and sex behavior. Such commercial amusements as prize fights, horse racing, pool and billiards, bowling, and the reading of salacious literature have not been studied adequately and yet have tremendous popular appeals. On the other hand, when questionnaires are used in schools, questions concerning religious and similar activities are omitted—answers to which would throw light on how some people use their leisure.

The *interview technique* is possibly the most elaborate and accurate method of social research that has as yet been utilized in this field.<sup>14</sup> Questions can be asked about recreation equipment, favorite possessions, and activities during leisure time. Play tests can be given to ascertain knowledge of the common forms of recreation, and specific questions can be asked about games and sports, quiet games, street games, athletics, manual activities, collections, reading, music, art, dancing, dramatics, motion pictures and theaters, and association with friends. Informal questions can be asked about almost any form of leisure as the interview proceeds. The success depends largely upon

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<sup>14</sup> See *Recreation Interview* form prepared by the Illinois Institute of Juvenile Research, the form which was used also by the Child Guidance Clinic of the All Nations Foundation, Los Angeles, under the direction of Dr. Everett Du Vall.

the art of interviewing and the cooperation received from the interviewees.

To be of greatest value, the investigation should ordinarily use both the questionnaire and the interview techniques. Whatever techniques may be used, it is necessary to make continuous studies. Cross-sectional surveys have their value, but conditions and interests change.

Besides the studies of leisure interests and activities, surveys have been made of recreation facilities, organizations, programs, and conditions. The *Chicago Recreation Survey*<sup>15</sup> is one of the most comprehensive studies made in recent years, covering public recreation, commercial amusements, and private recreation, with a special volume dealing with seventy-five regions. The investigators used a variety of methods of research: namely, interviews, questionnaires, schedules, correspondence, observation, consultation of official reports, newspaper files, and previous research reports.

Similar surveys have been made in other cities and in metropolitan regions, and specialized studies have been made by Works Progress Administration, municipal recreation departments, university departments of physical education, and public school authorities. Such surveys have specific objectives in view, particularly the enlargement of playgrounds and parks, the extension of facilities and programs, the improvement of organization and leadership, and the utilization of the resources for recreation purposes.

The difficulty with many surveys is that they are not thoroughly objective. Only certain aspects are studied with practical significance. The investigators frequently are uncritical and sometimes biased. Very few have a sound background in research techniques. Here the social scientists trained in research methods can render a vital service. Jesse F. Steiner, in *Recreation in the Depression*,<sup>16</sup> has indicated the recreation research problems, trends, and resources which social scientists

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<sup>15</sup> Vols. I, II, III, IV, and V (Chicago, 1937-40). A research project sponsored jointly by the Chicago Recreation Commission and Northwestern University under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, National Youth Administration, and the Illinois Emergency Relief Administration.

Compare Cleveland Foundation, *Cleveland Recreation Survey* (Cleveland, 1920); Buffalo City Planning Association, *Recreation Survey of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1925); C. B. Ralitt, *Survey of Recreation Facilities of Rochester, N. Y.* (Rochester, 1929); Committee on a Regional Plan for New York and Its Environs, *Regional Plan of New York and Environs* (New York, 1927); *The Leisure of a People: A Report of a Recreational Survey of St. Paul, Minnesota* (1934).

<sup>16</sup> New York, 1937.

may study. He calls attention to the recent expansion of leisure, the changing tides of recreation, leisure facilities under governmental auspices, community organization for leisure, recreation as a business enterprise, and the future of recreation.

In addition to the studies of leisure interests and habits, and the various kinds of recreation surveys, the social scientists have participated in the study of commercial amusements, particularly the movies. Until the Payne Foundation studies of movies and children were made, few persons had seriously inquired into the effects of films on the mind. The Motion Picture Research Council, sponsored by the Payne Foundation, invited psychologists, educators, and sociologists to devise scientific methods whereby they might measure objectively the effects of movies upon people, particularly the young. The study was monumental in the matters of expense, size, and pretensions. The reports constitute the bulk of our scientific knowledge of movies.<sup>17</sup> The effects of movies upon sleep and the emotional responses to the motion picture situations; their influence in creating ideas, social attitudes, and standards of morality; and the effects upon conduct, particularly in relation to crime and delinquency, were analyzed. The bulk of the reports deal with the relation of motion pictures to moral standards, social attitudes or opinions, and conduct. This is a significant but an extremely difficult approach to the subject. A variety of questionnaire forms, interview schedules, and laboratory instruments were used to gather the concrete data. The reports give the impression that a vast amount of material was gathered by means of painstaking methods of research and that the investigators were cautious and critical in their analysis of the data. At any rate, they attracted wide-spread attention and had considerable influence in shaping public opinion regarding motion pictures. Some of the findings constitute a rather severe indictment of modern movies, and reform movements were set in motion to curb the production of films which were reported to have undesirable effects on human conduct.

Mortimer J. Adler, in *Art and Prudence*,<sup>18</sup> severely criticises the reports, particularly the methods used in gathering the data and the conclusions drawn from some of the material. This was followed by a more simplified analysis by Raymond Moley, in *Are We Movie*

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<sup>17</sup> The series of monographs, with a summary volume by W. W. Charters, the director of the studies, and a popular exposition by Henry G. Forman, were published by the MacMillan Company, 1933-35.

<sup>18</sup> Toronto, 1937.

*Made?*<sup>19</sup>, who presented Adler's critical analysis in a more popular style with a view of off-setting the negative effects of the original research reports. He thinks that Adler succeeded in debunking certain types of studies made by sociologists. Both Adler and Moley maintain that some of the investigators—particularly Blumer, Hauser, Peters, and Dale—confused the scientific, moral, and political questions. Scientific research pertains to questions of fact. So long as the investigators stuck to the analysis of the effects or influences of motion pictures on moral character and conduct, the results may be regarded as scientific data. As soon as questions were raised as to what extent films are good, bad, or indifferent and, if bad, what should be done about them, the investigators entered the moral and political fields. According to Adler, questions of evaluation and of public action and policy are outside the realm of scientific procedure. He maintains that this is precisely what was done—that scientific conclusions were fused with moral judgment and with questions of public policy. He asks also whether the scientific conclusions are after all really better than prevailing opinion or the opinion of experts. He thinks that some of the findings can be dismissed on the basis of the inadequacy of the methods used, the unreliability of the raw materials, and the insignificance of the numerical data. The data of scientific research must be tested for their reliability and for their capacity to yield significant conclusions.

Both Adler and Moley feel, however, that some of the investigations show evidence of science properly used. For instance, May and Shuttleworth undertook to determine the net effect of the general run of moving pictures on children by selecting from 7,000 school children the 10 per cent of the total who reported most frequent attendance of movies and the 10 per cent who went the least. Finally, the 1,400 cases selected were equated for such factors as age, sex, school grade, social-economic status, intelligence, and nationality of parents. These were tested regarding their attitudes on a large number of subjects. It was found that no differences existed in about 90 per cent of the comparisons of movie goers and non-goers, and of the remaining 10 per cent, 8 per cent favored the non-movie group and 2 per cent favored the movie group. Thus the results were largely negative. The investigators said so and dismissed the question. Holladay and Stoddard<sup>20</sup> attempted to measure the ideas which children derived from

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<sup>19</sup> New York, 1938.

<sup>20</sup> *Getting Ideas from Movies* (New York, 1934).

movies, both the retention of ideas and the changes in quantity and character of what is remembered over a period of time. Thurstone and Peterson<sup>21</sup> made a more limited study of the relation between motion pictures and the social attitudes of children. They left out evaluations and theoretical speculations in stating the results of their study. These are regarded as thoroughgoing studies by Adler and Moley, but it may not be amiss to observe that the reports which they regard as evidence of good scientific procedure are either negative or harmless in so far as the final results are concerned. Studies which throw some light upon the effects of movies on conduct, particularly if the influences are regarded as harmful, are severely criticised.

The fact that Moley wrote his book "at the suggestion of the representatives of the motion-picture industry" may have influenced his attitude toward the findings of the studies. In other words, biased critics of research procedures, especially if the findings are contrary to preconceived notions, may be as misleading in their conclusions as investigators are in deducting conclusions from the raw data of inadequate research.

It must be admitted that social sciences are not in the stage of refinement of research techniques to make sure of the facts at all times. Furthermore, the social sciences do not deal with such fixed entities as is true of the raw data of the natural sciences. But the difficulties should not deter efforts in social research. Each effort of study and painstaking analysis of facts, followed by cautious interpretation of data, adds to the sum-total of our knowledge of social conditions.

Scientific methods in the hands of keen, open-minded, and humble persons are of inestimable value to society. In the hands of strongly prejudiced and incompetent persons, they may be very dangerous. Laymen are inclined to believe the conclusions of scientists without suspicion. Facts are powerful elements in shaping public opinion. It is, therefore, essential that social scientists be sure of their facts before presenting the findings to the public as tested and proved knowledge.

In conclusion, may I add that one of the reasons for choosing this subject for this occasion is that leisure represents a field of study in which all social scientists can participate? It is not the special field of research for sociologists, nor for the economists, historians, or political scientists. All can share and contribute methods of research, and society will be the richer for our efforts.

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<sup>21</sup> *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children* (New York, 1934).

# LAND VALUES AS AN ECOLOGICAL INDEX<sup>1</sup>

CALVIN F. SCHMID  
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Numerous generalizations have been made concerning the sociological significance of land values. For example, Dr. Robert E. Park states:

Of all the facts that can be expressed geographically, land values, for the sociologists, are probably the most important. They are important because they offer a relatively accurate index to the forces that are determining the occupational and cultural organization of the community, and because by the aid of land values it is possible to express in numerical and quantitative terms so much that is socially significant.<sup>2</sup>

It is the purpose of this paper to ascertain, at least tentatively, the validity of these and similar hypotheses on the basis of an investigation of land values in two large Middle Western cities—Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. The material on land values used in this study is based on valuation data derived from the official records of the assessor's files in these respective cities.<sup>3</sup>

## CONFIGURATION OF LAND VALUES

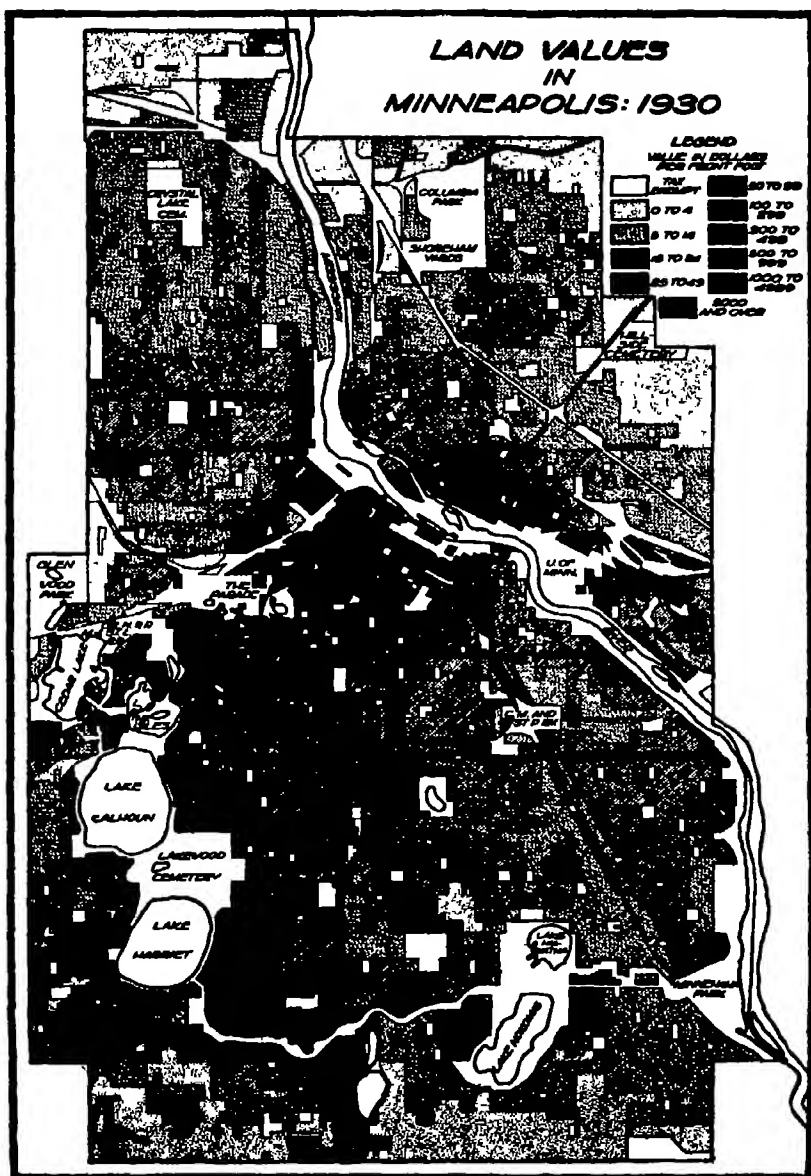
An examination of Charts 1 and 2 will reveal in detail the patterning of land values in Minneapolis and St. Paul. One of the most striking facts is the extraordinary variation in land values in a large city, ranging from a few dollars to many thousands of dollars per front foot. The highest land values are located in the central business district. The lowest values are most frequently to be found in the outlying unplatted and unimproved residential areas. Scattered throughout both cities are islands of relatively high values surrounded by areas of

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<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to his colleague, Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, for a critical reading of this paper and for offering valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Park, "Sociology," in Wilson Gee, *Research in the Social Sciences* (New York, 1929), p. 27. See also Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "The Natural Areas of the City," in Ernest R. Burgess, *The Urban Community* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 219-29, and Louis Wirth, "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," in Robert E. Park et al., *The City* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 161-228. Cf. Milla Aissa Alihan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis* (New York, 1938), pp. 126-35.

<sup>3</sup> The data from Minneapolis were taken from a published report entitled *Property Register of the City of Minneapolis* (1930), which was prepared by the City Planning Commission from the records of the City Assessor. Assessed valuations represent the most complete and reliable data available on land values. For a discussion of this point, see Edwin H. Spengler, *Land Values in New York in Relation to Transit Facilities* (New York, 1930), pp. 25-27. Also cf. J. Rowland Bibbins, "The Economic Topography of the City Urban Land Values," in R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York, 1933), esp. pp. 226-27.





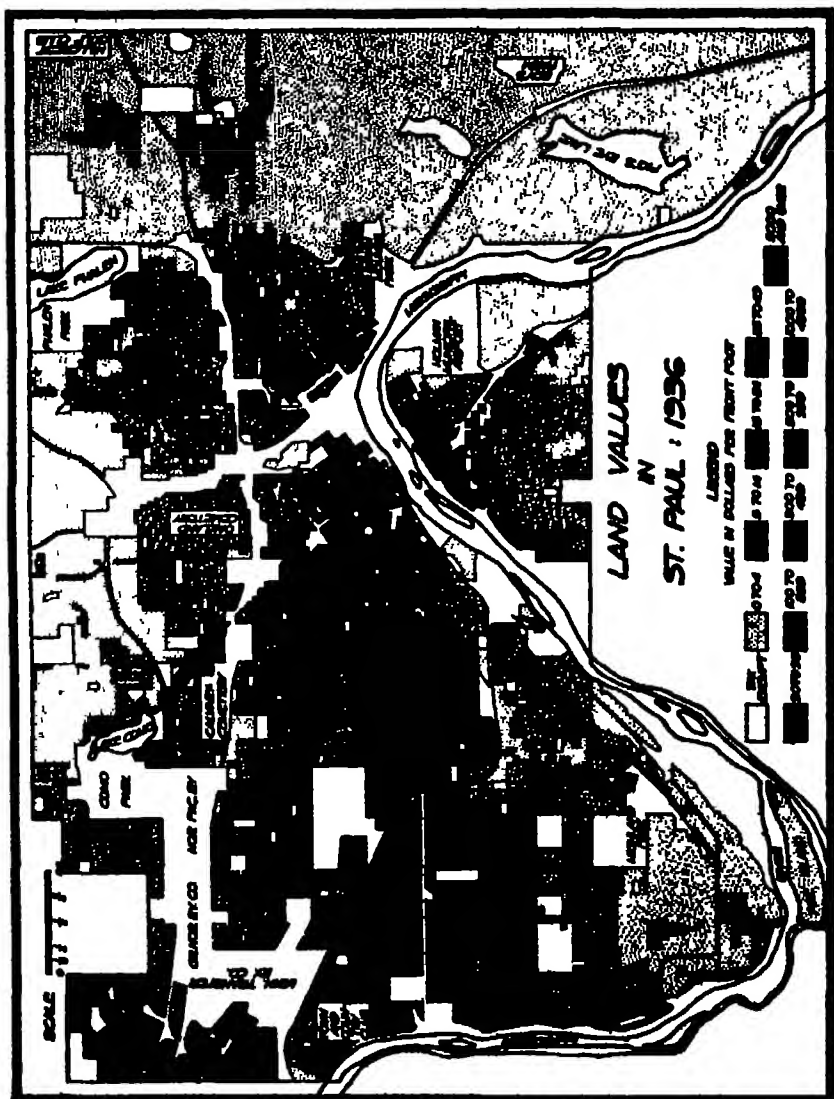


Chart 2

low values. These islands represent for the most part outlying business districts. Similarly, islands of comparatively low value are found in sections of much higher value. If the land values in Minneapolis and St. Paul were represented by a three-dimensional map, the central business districts would show extraordinarily high peaks, whereas the areas contiguous to the central business districts would manifest precipitous drops in elevation, which in turn would be followed by much more gradual but progressive declines to the city limits. This downward trend would be interrupted by numerous smaller secondary peaks and valleys.<sup>4</sup>

#### LAND VALUES AND POPULATION

In studying the relationship between land values and various relevant factors, one must be careful to avoid the fallacy of oversimplification. It is extremely difficult, if not frequently impossible, to disentangle and evaluate the multiplicity of factors which influence land values directly or indirectly.<sup>5</sup> "The value of any piece of property is the net result of a complicated plexus of factors, favorable and unfavorable which are not merely additive but which react on each other and may react in opposite directions in different cases."<sup>6</sup>

It is the primary purpose of this section to determine the relationship between land values and population. The material will be presented under the following headings: (1) population growth, (2) population mobility, and (3) population composition.

(1) *Population Growth.* Population growth is frequently an important factor in the increase and redistribution of land values. The total assessed valuation of real property for the city of Minneapolis in 1875 was \$15,900,000 and by 1931 reached a maximum of \$285,300,000. In 1935 the assessed valuation of real property totalled approximately \$221,000,000. In St. Paul the aggregate assessed valuation of real property rose from approximately \$79,000,000 in 1896 to a peak of almost \$153,000,000 in 1931, after which there was a pronounced recession.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Chart 5 portrays two cross-sectional views of land values in the city of Minneapolis.

<sup>5</sup>A brief methodological critique of land values as an ecological index is contained in a later section of this paper.

<sup>6</sup>John Nolen and Henry V. Hubbard, *Parkways and Land Values* (Cambridge, Mass.), p. 124.

<sup>7</sup>There are definite limitations in comparing figures of this kind over a long period of time because of the marked changes in assessing practice and procedure, fluctuations in the real value of the dollar, and territorial annexations.

[Footnote continued on next page]

Although the total assessed valuations of land tend to oscillate with prevailing economic conditions, the general trend of these data conforms very closely to the increase in population.<sup>8</sup>

The direction of population expansion has a powerful influence on land values. Over a period of more than half a century the tendency of Minneapolis has been to expand in a southerly direction, and that of St. Paul in a westerly direction. Of the thirteen wards in the city of Minneapolis, Ward 13, which comprises the southwestern part of the city, has evidenced the most rapid rate of growth. In 1890 this ward reported approximately 2,000 people, but by 1930 it had grown to 66,639. The population growth of Ward 12, which comprises the southeastern part of Minneapolis, also has been very rapid. In 1890 the population of Ward 12 was around 2,000, but by 1930 it had reached 57,489. The combined populations of these wards constituted 2.6 per cent of the population of Minneapolis in 1890, as compared to 26.8 per cent in 1930. Similarly, Ward 11 in St. Paul, which includes the southwestern part of the city, increased from 2,620 in 1890 to 45,488 in 1930. Again, the mean center of residential building activity for the entire city of Minneapolis moved in a southerly direction from the center of the city for a distance of three miles from 1890 to 1936.<sup>9</sup>

Comparisons of the 1930 land valuational data with those for 1890 and the early 1900's show remarkably high increases, especially in the southwestern sector of Minneapolis. Land values in some sections of Minneapolis have remained more or less stationary, whereas in others they have declined.<sup>10</sup> The increase in land values in the western part of St. Paul also has been in general more pronounced than in other sections of the city, and as in Minneapolis, some areas have shown

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In 1875 the area of Minneapolis was 12.5 square miles and in 1930, 58.7 square miles. The corresponding figures for St. Paul are 20.1 and 55.4 square miles. By far the greatest portion of the present territory of Minneapolis and of St. Paul was acquired between 1880 and 1890, for during this period 40.8 square miles were added to Minneapolis and 35.4 square miles to St. Paul. See Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 28-29 and 70-72.

<sup>8</sup> In 1930 the population of Minneapolis was 464,356 and of St. Paul, 271,606. The 1940 reports show 489,971 for Minneapolis and 288,023 for St. Paul.

<sup>9</sup> Calvin F. Schmid, "The Ecological Method in Social Research," in Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York, 1939), p. 406, Fig. 51.

<sup>10</sup> These statements are based on data taken from the city assessor's records. There is a small amount of published data for c. 1905 in Richard M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values* (New York, 1924), p. 143 and p. 154.

little change, whereas others have decreased.<sup>11</sup>

Chart 1 clearly indicates the differences in land values between the southwestern sector of Minneapolis and other parts of that city, and Chart 2 between the western sector of St. Paul and other sections of the latter city. It must not be concluded from these data that population increase is the only factor in the differential rate of increase in land values. The original desirability of a particular location in terms of the terrain and other characteristics, promotional activities of real estate dealers, transportation facilities, and many other factors may initiate as well as augment the flow of population in a certain direction.

It is also significant that the most expensive parcel of land outside the central business district of Minneapolis is located at the intersection of Hennepin and Lake, which is approximately two and one-half miles from Seventh and Nicollet, the point of highest value in the entire city. The pronounced concentration of purchasing power in this area in terms of the number of people as well as their high standards of living no doubt is an extremely important factor in accounting for the large constellation of business establishments and high land values at that point.

In addition to the continuous redistribution and relocation of population, city growth is accompanied by far-reaching changes in industrial and commercial activities. These changes in business and industry introduce new and important elements which exert a profound influence in altering the structural equilibrium of the city. The invasion of residential areas by the expansion of business and industry, for example, usually results in widespread changes in the character of the land as well as in values. Naturally the rapidity of change in land values and land utilization bears a close relationship to the rate of population growth and the amount of industrial and commercial changes that take place.<sup>12</sup>

The growth of population even toward the periphery of a city may result in the expansion of business at the center. With increased

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<sup>11</sup> It should be kept in mind that "Every business site tends to be influenced by its surroundings, and every residential property reflects the character of the neighborhoods of which it forms a part. As a city expands or declines, the various districts and neighborhoods are affected in different ways. Even if a city is expanding, properties in it may decline in value if they are located in blighted areas or in the path of blighting influences"—Arthur M. Weaver and Homer Hoyt, *Principles of Urban Real Estate* (New York, 1939), p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington, 1939), p. 81.

numbers of shoppers, pleasure-seekers, and workers who are drawn to the central business district greater intensity of land use results. This increased intensity of land utilization may be followed either by lateral or vertical expansion, or both. In either alternative, land values and land use may undergo important changes. As business and industry expand, the old frontiers of residence are pushed farther and farther away from the center of the city. This centrifugal movement of population impinges on the contiguous areas of less intense utilization, thus setting into motion a series of invasions and successions which may extend outward beyond the city limits.

An intensive study of the natural history of the central business district of Minneapolis reveals the influence of city growth on shifts in population, land use, institutional changes, and land values.<sup>13</sup> For example, the number of people in this area is smaller than it was at the turn of the century, when the city was about half its present size. The residential fringe has all but disappeared, and the composition of the population has been radically transformed. All the public schools and all but two churches have been forced out of this area by the expansion of business and other concomitant changes. The internal patterning of this area also has undergone a metamorphosis. Retail business, banks, theaters, hotels, and other institutions have evidenced pronounced shifts in location. All these changes are reflected in movements of land values. The point of highest land value in 1890 was Nicollet and Washington Avenues, but by 1910 this point had shifted southward to Nicollet and Fourth, and by 1930 to Nicollet and Seventh. Washington Avenue was the main retail shopping street—"the heart of Minneapolis"—in the 1880's, whereas today it is the main "stem" of the city's Hobohemia. Much of the land which was included in the highest decile value in 1890 has depreciated to the third and fourth deciles at the present time, whereas, because of the realignment of institutional services and other changes, the value of some property has shifted from the lower to the upper deciles.<sup>14</sup>

(2) *Population Mobility*. Land values frequently bear a close relationship to mobility of population.<sup>15</sup> This is particularly true in the

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<sup>13</sup> Calvin F. Schmid and Denis McGenty, "The Process of City Expansion: I. The Natural History of the Central Business District of Minneapolis," in *Social Saga of Two Cities*, pp. 37-55.

<sup>14</sup> Schmid, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> In this connection see John Paver and Miller McClintock, *Traffic and Trade* (London, 1935), *passim*

central business district. In the modern American city all the main arteries of travel and traffic converge in this area. The central business district represents the point of highest accessibility. Because of their uniquely strategic position in relation to the movement of population, many parcels of land in this area possess monopoly values.

An attempt has been made to measure the relationship between land values and vehicular (automobile) traffic and pedestrian traffic in the central business district.<sup>16</sup> (See Chart 3). As might be expected, there is a higher correlation between pedestrian traffic ( $r=+.840\pm.030$ ) and land values than between vehicular traffic and land values ( $r=+.469\pm.080$ ).<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the coefficients would be much higher if the basic indices on land values and traffic were expressed more precisely. Judging from incomplete data for two commercial sub-cen-

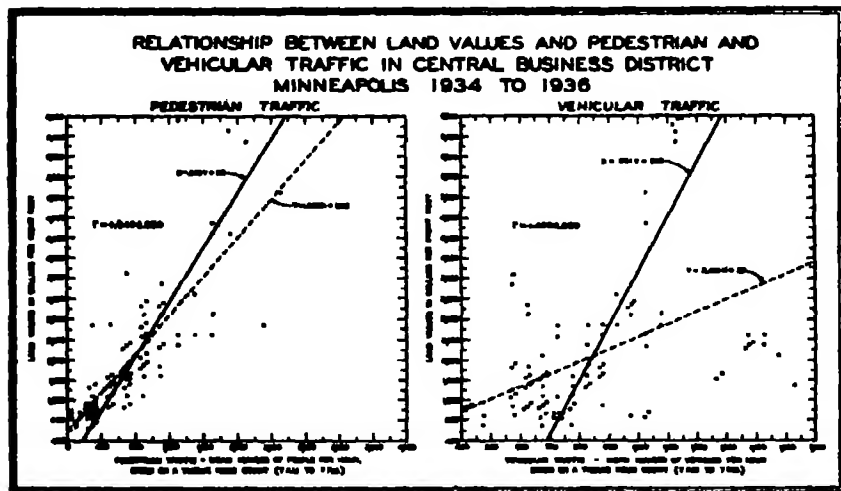


Chart 3

<sup>16</sup> R. D. McKenzie has referred to this type of population movement as "fluidity" ("The Scope of Human Ecology," in Ernest W. Burgess, *The Urban Community* [Chicago, 1926], pp. 167-82). Fluidity does not imply change of residence. "Mobility," on the other hand, conveys the implication of change of residence. Although this distinction has been criticized, it seems to be logical and practical when applied to the present problem. "Mobility," implying change of residence, is frequently associated with declining land values. This is particularly true in the blighted and socially disorganized areas in proximity to the central business district.

<sup>17</sup> The data on traffic counts were taken from the City Engineer's Department, *Report on Street Traffic Survey, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1934-1935*, p. 19 and p. 140.

ters in Minneapolis—East Hennepin and Central, and Central and Lowry, N. E.—there is a close relationship between pedestrian traffic and land values in the outlying business districts. Moreover, the volume of vehicular traffic and land values are closely related. This is especially true of those thoroughfares which are largely commercialized or industrialized or are in the process of becoming so. On the other hand, heavy vehicular traffic in purely residential areas may have a depressing influence on land values.

(3) *Population Composition* The racial and cultural characteristics of the population influence in varying degrees the value of land in the large city, but this association is not a simple cause-and-effect relationship. The composition of the population is only one factor in an intricate combination of elements that really determine the value of any piece of land. It is the purpose of this section to point out and interpret certain relationships of land values to the distribution of the Negro and the foreign-born populations.

The Negroes in the Twin Cities occupy land ranging from \$2 to \$75 per front foot.<sup>18</sup> At first glance these facts might seem paradoxical, inasmuch as the most expensive residential land values on Lowry Hill and the Lake of the Isles in Minneapolis and Summit Avenue in St. Paul very seldom exceed \$150 per front foot, and residential property valued at more than \$50 per front foot is far above the average in these cities. The explanation for this apparent discrepancy lies in the fact that some of the Negro segregations are located in slum and blighted areas where the land values are relatively high and rents relatively low.<sup>19</sup>

The largest Negro section in Minneapolis is on the lower North Side, where housing conditions are generally sub-standard. The recently completed Federal Housing Administration "Sumner Field Homes" slum clearance project is in this section. Land values in this area range from \$6 to \$60 per front foot. The highest land values are either actually or potentially business and industrial property. In St. Paul the largest Negro area extends along Rondo and contiguous streets from Rice to Lexington Avenue. Land values in this section

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Negro and the foreign-born in Minneapolis and St. Paul, see Schmid, *op cit.*, pp. 129-88.

<sup>19</sup> For a distinction between the concepts "slum" and "blighted area," see James Ford, Katherine Morrow, and G. N. Thompson, *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), Chapter I; Mabel L. Walker, *Urban Blight and Slums* (New York, 1932), Chapter I, and J. M. Gries and James Ford, *Slums, Large-Scale Housing and Decentralization* (New York, 1932), *passim*.

vary from approximately \$5 to \$25 per front foot. In addition to the lower North Side in Minneapolis and the Rondo District in St. Paul, there are several other smaller "blackbelts" in the Twin Cities.

Negro communities are by no means stable or permanently established, for the spatial pattern of Negro segregation is constantly changing. There are always some intra-city migrations. It is generally believed that the invasion of a white residential district by Negroes results in a depreciation of land values. The problem of real estate values, however, is usually more complicated than the presence or absence of Negroes. When Negroes invade a white residential section, property owners very often become hysterical and are willing to dispose of their holdings at a great sacrifice, but sometimes they are able to obtain much more from Negro buyers than the property is intrinsically worth. Furthermore, deterioration has often taken place as the result of the encroachment of business or industry before the invasion of the Negroes.<sup>20</sup> Impersonal forces are perhaps more far-reaching in upsetting the stability of a white neighborhood, but they do not generate the animosities that result from racial invasions.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the strong aversion of most white people of a higher social level to living in the same neighborhood with Negroes as well as the high mobility and low economic status of the Negro tend to exert a depreciating influence on property values.<sup>22</sup>

The position of the foreign-born white population in the ecological structure of the community is similar to that of the Negro. Unlike the Negro, the foreign-born immigrant or his children eventually become assimilated into the dominant white community. The Negro, however, because of his skin pigmentation—his visibility—will not attain equality with the white population regardless of the length of time he has lived in the community.

The foreign-born white population tends to cluster in certain sections of the city, but these clusterings are not so extensive or distinctive

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<sup>20</sup> Louise Venable Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York, 1930), p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> "In many cases, however, the undesirable racial factor is so merged with other unattractive features, such as proximity to factories, poor transportation, old and obsolete buildings, poor street improvements, and the presence of criminal or vice elements, that the separate effect of race cannot be disentangled"—Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago, 1933), p. 317.

<sup>22</sup> In ranking races and nationalities with respect to their beneficial effect on land values, Mexicans were placed in the lowest category and Negroes in the second lowest. English, Germans, Scotch, Irish, and Scandinavian ranked first—Homer Hoyt, *ibid.*, pp. 315-16.



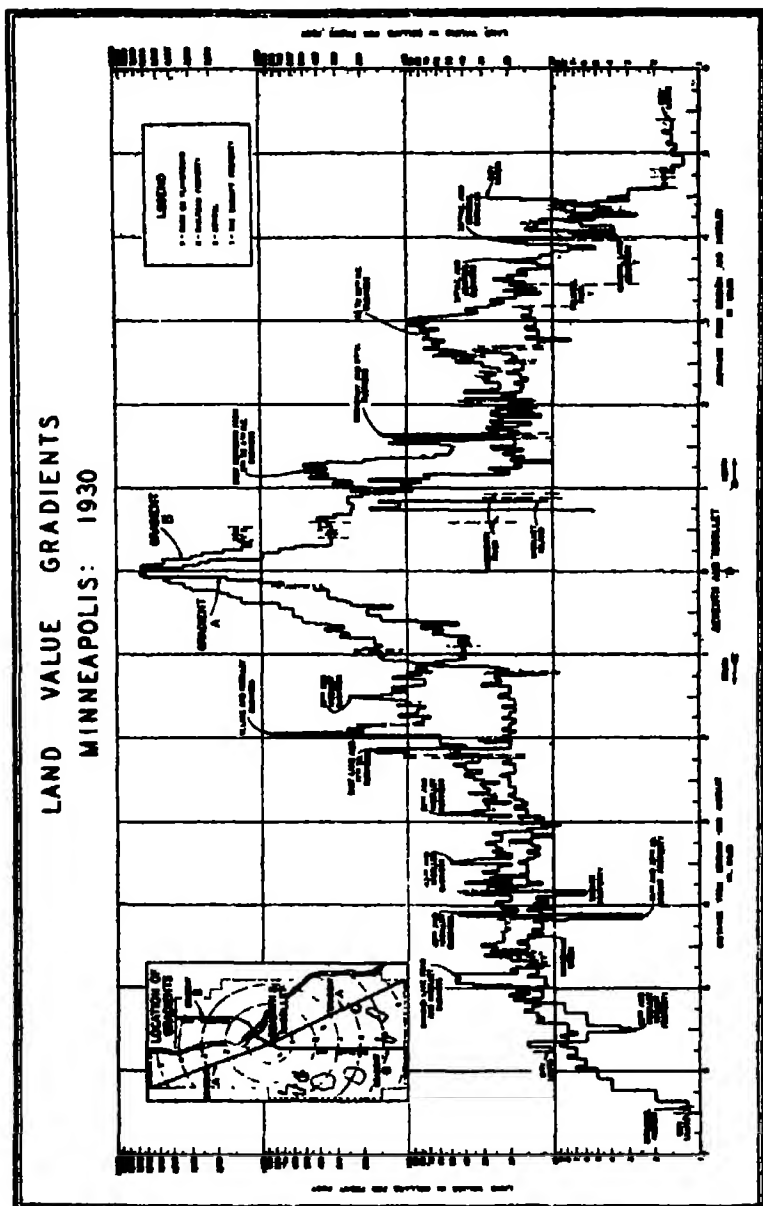
in the Twin Cities as they are in many of the large industrial cities farther east. The highest concentrations of the foreign-born in Minneapolis are on the lower North Side, around the Central business district, the Seven Corners District (Washington Square), and Northeast. The patterning of the foreign-born population of St. Paul is similar to that of Minneapolis; the marginal areas bordering the central business district evidence high percentages of foreign-born, as do many others of the less desirable sections of the city, such as the Flats and the Mount Airy district.<sup>22</sup>

The land values in the immigrant sections located in the blighted areas frequently are relatively high, but the rents are low. The other areas of the Twin Cities which to a large extent are occupied by the foreign-born range from only a few dollars to approximately \$24 per front foot. The foreign-born live in these low-rent areas largely because of economic necessity, although the external pressure of social prejudice and the cohesive force of a common culture and common standards and traditions help to keep them segregated. This is especially true of the more recent immigrants, such as the Mexicans, Poles, and Russians (many of whom are Jewish), Greeks, Italians, and other southern and eastern European groups. In the Twin Cities these groups are extremely small in comparison with the overwhelming proportion of both foreign and native-born of northern and western European extraction.

#### LAND VALUE GRADIENTS

A very useful technique for portraying land values in the large city is by means of gradients. The two gradients presented in this section run in a generally north and south direction from Seventh and Nicollet and present in detail typical cross-sectional views of land values in the city of Minneapolis (Chart 4). The extraordinarily high peak at Seventh and Nicollet and the general configuration of these gradient profiles were briefly discussed in a foregoing paragraph. The purpose of this section is to interpret some of the more significant fluctuations in land values in various parts of the city. This analysis is intended to be only suggestive, since it is impossible to present in the

<sup>22</sup> The fact that the foreign-born communities generally coincide with the poor sections of the city is indicated by the following coefficients of correlation between the percentage of the population that is foreign-born and certain socioeconomic indices for the 451 enumeration districts in Minneapolis and St. Paul: (a) average rental of dwelling units,  $r = -.57$ ; (b) average value of owner-occupied dwelling units,  $r = -.42$ ; housing structures without central heating plant,  $r = +.59$ ; and structures needing major repairs,  $r = +.37$ .



### Chart 4

limited space available a complete and well-rounded evaluation of the many factors that might logically be considered in a discussion of this kind. Although each factor will be discussed separately, it should be remembered that the various elements that influence land values should be evaluated in terms of their reciprocal relationship as well as past influences and potential future developments.

Most of the secondary peaks on the gradients in Chart 4 represent clusterings of business establishments. Many of these nuclei consist of a few small neighborhood stores, but others are large shopping centers. They are located on the main thoroughfares leading from the central business district or at the intersection of important streets or at intra-city transfer points. The clusterings of commercial services on Lake, Franklin, Hennepin, Nicollet, Broadway, and Central in Minneapolis, and University, Rice, Snelling, Seventh, and Payne in St. Paul are examples of these different types of business subcenters.<sup>24</sup>

The land contiguous to railroads shows wide variations in value, ranging from a few dollars to over \$500 per front foot. The location and general characteristics of an area as well as the purpose for which a particular piece of land is used seem to be much more significant than the mere presence of a railroad. In residential areas railroads have a deleterious effect on land values. The noise and dirt of passing trains, as well as the dangers and inconveniences of grade crossings, if they happen to exist, make railroads a serious nuisance in residential areas. For some years the residents near the railroad west of Kenwood Park have agitated to abate this nuisance, which they have considered incompatible with the residential quality of the district. The lowering of property values also occurs when industries and warehouses along with a working-class population are attracted toward an expensive residential section which might be located in proximity to railroad trackage.

Boulevards and parkways tend to increase the value of residential property.<sup>25</sup> Comparisons of the values of land adjoining boulevards and parkways with those of land a short distance away seem to indicate this tendency.

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<sup>24</sup> Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "City Retail Structure," *Economic Geography*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (October, 1937), pp. 425-28; also, by the same author, "The Selection of a Business Site," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (November, 1938), pp. 370-81.

<sup>25</sup> John Nolen and Henry V. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 123-28.

Larger parks tend to have a favorable influence on residential land values, but small neighborhood parks and playgrounds of a block or so in area are of slight influence. By a comparison of the value of land fronting on the larger parks with the value of land a block away, many significant differences can be observed. The value of land adjoining the north side of Fairview Park is \$17 50 and a block away it is \$14.00; on the east side the corresponding figures are \$19 00 and \$14.00, on the south side \$20.00 and \$12 00, and on the west side \$24.00 and \$19.00.

Cemeteries seem to have a negative influence on land values, but the effect of cemeteries varies considerably. The fact that people tend to avoid cemeteries is reflected in the lower value of adjacent land.

Most of the land in the lowest valuational level in the Twin Cities is unplatted and unimproved. This is the situation with large sections of land near the northern and southern boundaries of Minneapolis and the northern and eastern boundaries of St. Paul. To a certain extent the value of city land is a reflection of the cost of its development. It has been estimated that modern improvements, including paving, water, and sewer cost from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per front foot<sup>28</sup> Unimproved land is naturally of less value than improved land, because these costs are yet to be incurred.

The physiographic features of Minneapolis and St. Paul represent a very important element in the larger complex of factors that determine land values. In fact, the basic ecological structures of the Twin Cities have been conditioned largely by the Mississippi River, the lakes, and the general contour of the terrain. As far as more or less local and specific factors are concerned, rivers and lakes, particularly where the land has a moderate elevation and an expansive view, have a favorable influence on residential land values. It will be observed from Charts 1 and 2 that land immediately fronting on a lake is more valuable than land a block or more away. Land adjacent to Cedar Lake varies from \$30.00 to \$50.00 per front foot, whereas two blocks away the range is from \$8.00 to \$18 00 per front foot. Similarly, frontage on the Lake of the Isles is assessed from approximately \$100 to over \$150 per front foot, whereas two blocks away the valuations range from around \$50.00 to \$75.00 per front foot.

In addition to the physical advantages of high-class residential districts there is invariably the element of prestige as well as other factors

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<sup>28</sup> Stanley L. McMichael and Robert F. Bingham, *City Growth and Values* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1923), p. 262.

Frequently the prestige or reputation of a district is much more important than the geographical surroundings. Many years ago Hurd pointed out:

The basis of residence values is social and not economic—even though the land goes to the highest bidder—the rich selecting the locations which please them, those of moderate means living as near by as possible, and so on down the scale of wealth, the poorest workmen taking the final leavings, either adjacent to such nuisances as factories, railroads, docks, etc., or far out of the city. . . . Having selected a district the wealthy make it their own by erecting handsome residences, making good street improvements, restricting against nuisances and finally and of chief importance living there themselves, the value of residence land varying directly according to the social standing of its occupants.<sup>27</sup>

For several decades Park Avenue in Minneapolis and Summit Avenue in St. Paul have been considered the most attractive "gold coasts" in the Twin Cities. Although these streets still retain an air of respectability, the ravages of time are becoming manifest. This is particularly true toward the central business districts. The imposing stone and brick mansions have become obsolescent, and there has been a large exodus of population to other sections of the city. The movement of many of the more prominent people to other areas is clearly revealed by shifts in residence of the families whose names appear in the social registers. The Lake of the Isles district in Minneapolis and the River Road in St. Paul now possess some of the prestige which Park and Summit Avenues enjoyed in an earlier period.

The greater portion of the land along the Mississippi River in Minneapolis is relatively low and has been developed largely for industrial and lower-grade residential purposes. In the southeast portion of the city, where the elevation of the land is much higher, there has been a high-class residential development. Similarly, in St. Paul a high bluff skirted by an attractive parkway rises above the river. Land values along this drive, as well as along East River Road in Minneapolis, are much higher than a block or more away from the river.

Such factors as the type of buildings, age of buildings, schools, hospitals and other institutions, street car lines, the tastes, habits, and customs of the people, as well as many other factors, frequently have an important influence on land values, but space does not permit further discussion.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Frederick M. Babcock, *The Valuation of Real Estate* (London, 1933), pp. 86-125; Stanley L. McMichael and Robert F. Bingham, *City Growth Essentials* (Hollywood, 1928), esp. pp. 159 ff.

LAND VALUES IN RELATION TO THE NATURAL AREAS OF THE CITY<sup>20</sup>

This section will be devoted to a survey of land values in the central business district and surrounding natural areas. Chart 5 represents a map of the central sector of St. Paul with land values and natural areas superimposed. The point of highest land value is the retail shopping center located at the chief converging point of traffic. The maximal values of \$5,000 per front foot in St. Paul are located on the north side of Seventh Street between Cedar and Robert, and land values ranging from \$3,000 to \$4,999 per front foot are to be found in close proximity. It will be observed that most of the land in the central business district of St. Paul carries an assessed valuation of more than \$500 per front foot. The largest single section of land in the highest valualational category is occupied by the Golden Rule Department Store. The remaining occupants of land in the most expensive group include four ladies' wear shops, three five-and-ten-cent stores, a small department store, a shoe store, an optician's shop, and a small candy store.<sup>21</sup> The land valued between \$3,000 and \$4,999 includes approximately fifty-six first-floor occupants. There are ten men's wear shops, seven shoe stores, and a like number of jewelry shops, five restaurants, four cigar stores, four markets and food stores, three each of department stores, ladies' wear shops, drug stores and theaters, and two each of five-and-ten-cent stores, candy stores, and music stores. The remaining occupants include a tapestry store, a floral shop, and a hotel.<sup>22</sup> In the next lowest land-value category, \$2,000 to \$2,999, there are approximately seventy-five first-floor occupants, which include twelve men's wear shops, nine shoe stores, and seven restaurants. There are no five-and-ten-cent stores in this third highest interval and only one department store. In addition to the type of business establishments indicated in the two highest land-value groupings, there are four shoe-shining and dry-cleaning shops, three sports goods and radio stores, and three railroad-ticket offices, and two each of banks, loan companies, fuel companies, and telephone and telegraph offices. From these data, as well as from data on all the remaining first-floor occupants in the central

<sup>20</sup> Most of the basic data on land values in this section were taken from the *Report of the Department of Assessor, The City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota: 1930* (St. Paul, 1931).

<sup>21</sup> This list as well as the following lists comprises first-floor occupants with street frontage only.

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed analysis of the retail structure of cities see Richard U. Ratcliff, *The Problem of Retail Site Selection* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939), esp. pp. 18-59.

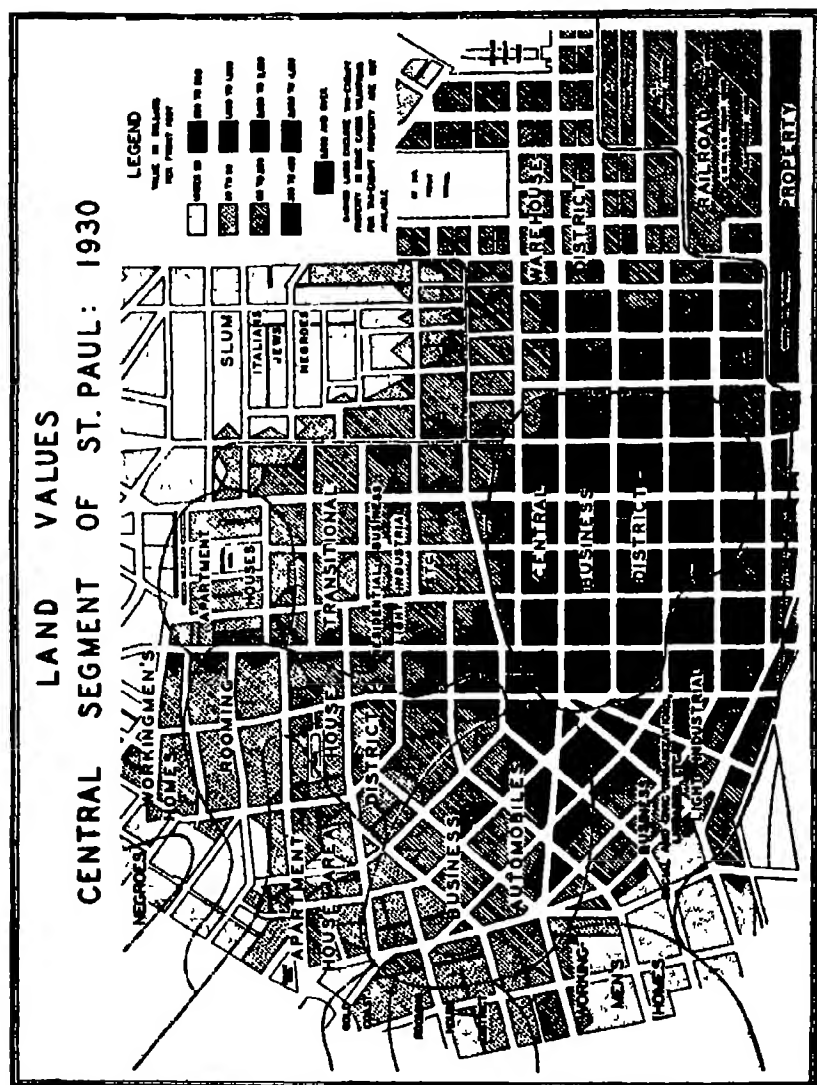


Chart 5

business district of St. Paul, it can be stated that: (a) the highest-priced land is occupied largely by department stores, five-and-ten-cent stores, ladies' and men's clothing stores, restaurants, jewelry stores, food stores, drug stores, and other retail establishments. Some of these types of establishments also are found on cheaper land. The retailer locates his store where the greatest number of people will pass by—that is, at the point of highest accessibility, where his displays may attract the greatest number of shoppers. Accessibility is a dominant factor in creating high land values; hence the retail section occupies the sites of highest land value. (b) Banks bear a definite relationship to the retail-business institutions, but they are not located on the most expensive land. Banks seek to locate near the retail and theater district in order to serve these big patrons efficiently and often throughout the day. On the other hand, they must also be close to the district of light manufacturing. (c) Hotels are found throughout the central business district for the accommodation of transients, but there are very few in St. Paul that occupy land valued at more than \$2,000 per front foot. (d) Five theaters are situated on property with valuations between \$2,000 and \$4,999 per front foot, and a few are located on cheaper land in and around the central business district. For the convenience of retail shoppers and hotel patrons and for greatest accessibility from all parts of the city, theaters are found on sites of relatively high value.<sup>28</sup>

Before examination of other parts of the central sector of St. Paul, it should be recognized that natural areas are not sharply demarcated from one another. The boundaries are usually indefinite, being zones rather than lines. It is entirely permissible to draw boundaries, but their arbitrary nature should be kept in mind.

West of the central business district there is a large section that is predominantly commercial, but the largest proportion of such establishments are devoted to the selling and servicing of automobiles. The land values in this area vary from \$50 to \$1,999 per front foot, but the overwhelming proportion is between \$100 to \$299 per front foot. Another area south and southwest of the central business district is characterized by many small business and light industrial establishments, a few hotels, and several social and civic organizations. The social and civic organizations include the Y. W. C. A., Women's City Club, Elks, Minnesota Club, Public Library, Hill Reference Library, Wilder Charity Building, City Auditorium, Court House and City Hall,

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<sup>28</sup> See Schmid and McGenty, *loc. cit.*



County Jail, and Rice Park. A larger proportion of the land in this district carries front footage valuations of from \$100 to \$299, but there are some parcels under \$50 and some as high as \$1,000 a front foot. East of the central business district, in which are the main railroad terminals of the city, is a large section devoted largely to warehouses and to wholesale establishments. The services in this area represent an important adjunct to the stores in the central business district. Most of the land in this area is valued between \$100 to \$299 per front foot. It will be observed that a slum area north of the business district exhibits in general the lowest values in the entire central sector of St. Paul. Most of the land shows a valuation of less than \$50 per front foot, but there is some valued as high as \$150 a front foot. A transitional zone north and adjacent to the central business district includes land valued as high as \$1,000 per front foot. Most of the expensive land in this area is devoted to business. There are a large number of light industrial establishments and many old residential structures in this area. Most of the land in this transitional zone is included in the \$100 to \$299 interval. In the large rooming-house section along St. Peter and Iglehart most of the land is valued between \$50 and \$99 per front foot, but there is a small section west of Rice that carries valuations of less than \$50 per front foot. The business sites in this area which are located along St. Peter and Wabasha show values ranging from \$300 to \$499 per front foot. Both the apartment-house sections around Central Park and around Summit Avenue show front footage values of \$50 to \$99. A large part of these areas are also valued between \$100 to \$299. The areas typified by workingmen's homes show for the most part values of less than \$50 per front foot, but the business property in these sections has much higher valuations.

#### METHODOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF LAND VALUES AS AN ECOLOGICAL INDEX

From a research point of view a satisfactory ecological index should at least (a) be quantitatively expressed and susceptible of statistical analysis, (b) be valid, that is, measure in some discernible manner that which it is supposed to measure, and (c) be statistically accurate and reliable.<sup>23</sup>

Although land values are quantitatively expressed, they are not readily susceptible to statistical analysis. The extraordinary variation, as well as the pronounced disparity in the number of cases between the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Schmid, "The Ecological Method in Social Research," in Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York, 1939), pp. 392-94.

highest and lowest values, imposes some difficulties in the analysis of frequency distributions and correlation problems. In the Twin Cities, for example, there are comparatively few lots with values running above \$5,000 per front foot, but thousands of lots valued at less than \$10 per front foot. This naturally results in abnormally skewed distributions. Moreover, the fact that the index is expressed in front-footage values means that the data have to be converted into some kind of areal average in order to make the data comparable to population, housing, and other statistics which are commonly compiled on the basis of blocks, enumeration districts, or census tracts. The conversion of front-footage values into some kind of comparable areal base would necessitate a vast amount of labor and the data thus derived would be generally inferior to other more easily available indices.

Sociologists have referred most frequently to land values as an index of "respectability" and of socio-economic status, but in the light of the foregoing observations these generalizations require some qualification. Land values are not the most valid index of socio-economic status, for it has been pointed out that the poorest people frequently live in areas of relatively high land value but low rents. This fact is one of the paradoxes of slums and blighted areas. The same condition may prevail in certain apartment-house areas and in some business sections where dwelling units are in store buildings. A much more valid index of socio-economic status is the mean rental paid per dwelling unit.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the best index of socio-economic status is median income, but reliable city-wide data of this kind according to relatively small homogeneous areas are not ordinarily available.

From time to time the accuracy and reliability of assessed-valuation data have been seriously questioned. It has been pointed out that assessed valuations are frequently arbitrary, subjective, and inconsistent with the "exchange value" or "market value." Criticisms of this kind are sometimes justified, but valuational data are almost universally the only adequate and complete indexes of land values that are availa-

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<sup>24</sup> Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities*, pp. 293-301. Homer Hoyt seems to have arrived at the same conclusion. See *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, pp. 72-78.

<sup>25</sup> In Chicago, to be sure, annual volumes entitled *Land Values Blue Book of Chicago*, published by a private organization of real estate appraisers, George C. Olcott and Company, contain city-wide valuational data. The data in the *Land Values Blue Books* are based largely on actual sales. The reliability of these data, like the official data compiled by assessors' offices, is extremely difficult to determine.

ble.<sup>28</sup> Differences in assessment policy and procedure may invalidate comparisons between cities and from one period to another in the same city. The accuracy and reliability of land-value data as an ecological index are inferior to certain types of data derived from recent housing surveys.<sup>29</sup>

In conclusion, land values offer a significant field of investigation to the student of human ecology. Land values represent a valuable body of data for analyzing community structure and processes. A critical evaluation of land values as an ecological index seems to show that for some purposes they are inferior to other ecological indices and should be used with care and discrimination.

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Edwin H. Spengler, *loc. cit.* Recent housing surveys include data of the value of owner-occupied dwellings.

# ATTITUDE DIFFERENTIALS IN A NEW YORK RURAL COMMUNITY

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Very little of the attitude research appearing in the literature during the last ten years has been in the rural field.<sup>1</sup> Studies have been largely either in general attitude theory or in the refinement of devices for measuring intensity and direction of attitudes.

In the general field of attitude research there has developed more recently a shift of interest to the analysis of attitudes in some social context. The fundamental questions of the relation between *attitudes* and the *position* of persons expressing them—in *situation fields*—are more and more the foci of attention in research.<sup>2</sup> Interest is also being directed toward the relation between shifts in attitude and change in the situational field in which the shift occurs. Furthermore, increasing attention is being turned toward the patterning of attitudes into larger ideological configurations which constitute the ethos of culture groups.

The purpose of the present study was to measure a number of selected attitudes of adult persons living in a New York rural community and to describe quantitatively any relationships which were found to exist between attitudes and persons' respective social and economic positions in the community. The primary problem was to measure the variation in attitudes among various types of groups and aggregates in the community.

The study of social attitudes of rural people with the principal interest of analyzing the variation in attitudes among different classes in rural society is somewhat new. Hence it was thought advisable to make this study on a single community and to try to get a complete coverage of the adult population, rather than draw samples from scattered communities. No effort was made to select a completely representative community. An attempt was made, however, to avoid select-

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<sup>1</sup> Several Summaries of the work done have been written. Cf. Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes," *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison, Worcester, Mass.: Clark Univ. Press, 1935; also Gardiner Murphy, Lois R. Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, revised edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937). Extensive bibliographies accompany both of these summaries.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale Press, 1937).

ing an area with any outstanding deviant characteristics. Fairview<sup>3</sup> is a rather typical upstate New York rural village, the center of a dairy-farming area. It has no special atypical features. Surrounding the village within about a five-mile radius were five hamlets and one unincorporated village. Together with the central village of Fairview, they constituted the area studied.

The central aim of this study was to discover the amount of variation rural people show in their attitudes and the extent to which certain social factors were correlated with variations in attitudes. Interest was not primarily in any specific attitudes. An attempt was made, however, to use attitude scales that might yield valuable knowledge about the social psychology of rural people. Moreover, the writer was interested in sampling a number of attitudes rather than confining the inquiry to current local, state, and national issues.

Six tests developed by Rundquist and Sletto<sup>4</sup> were selected for use. In this set are two scales on what might be called generalized attitudes. One is a measure of the degree to which the person feels inferior and inadequate in his social contacts. A second is called a measure of morale. It is essentially a measure of the degree of optimism and assurance with which the person regards the future. A third scale is designed to measure the degree of familism or emphasis on family values, family loyalty and solidarity. A fourth scale is a measure of attitudes toward the observance of law. A fifth measures attitudes toward education. A sixth measures the liberalism or conservatism of the person on social-economic questions.

The six Minnesota scales were constructed by Rundquist and Sletto according to the general method applied to attitude measurement by Likert and utilized by Hall. This technique yielded high reliability with relatively few items, which was of considerable importance in developing the schedule used in the present study. It facilitated the inclusion of more items than would have been possible had more elaborate techniques been used.

In addition to these scales the writer constructed rough scales on the following: unemployment relief, farm-crop control, unemployment insurance, old age assistance, increased national defense, United States political and economic isolation, consolidation of the churches in the

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<sup>3</sup> This is not the actual name of the village.

<sup>4</sup> Edward A. Rundquist, and Raymond F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1936).

community, and attitude toward the community. No attempt was made to measure quantitatively the validity or reliability of the writer's eight-scale supplement. These scales were designed as rough measures of rather clearly defined issues.

During the summer of 1938 the writer and a colleague lived in the village center, Fairview. The field work was completed during the months of June, July, and August. An attempt was made to obtain a schedule from every person eighteen years of age and over who was living in the community. Of the 1263 schedules obtained<sup>6</sup> in the field, 1097 or 86.7 per cent were used in the final tabulation. The remaining 14.3 per cent comprised the sick, the senile, and those who refused to fill out schedules.

The scope of the original study proved to be too extensive to present in one report. Consequently, a preliminary report of the study is to be followed by another at some future time. The present report includes a summary analysis of: (1) the distribution of scores of the total population on each of the fourteen attitude continua; and (2) the factors associated with attitude differentials in three of the fourteen scales. If the present plan carries through, a subsequent report will include an analysis of the factors associated with attitude differentials in the remaining eleven scales.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF EACH OF FOURTEEN ATTITUDE SCALES— SUMMARY

The position of the modal group in Fairview community on the issues in the fourteen attitude scales may be summarized as follows:

They feel somewhat inferior and inadequate in their social contacts, but feel reasonably competent to cope with the future and achieve many of their goals.

They are conservative in their political and economic thinking

They enjoy intimate contacts with their families, are strongly in favor of education, and respect the law. They are undecided about whether or not the churches in the community should be consolidated

They are more in favor of the federal emergency relief program than against it. Though strongly in favor of old-age assistance and unemployment insurance, they are somewhat undecided in their attitude toward unemployment relief and federal farm-crop control

Their general attitude toward the Fairview community is only slightly favorable, and they are not enthusiastic about the desirability of the area as a place to live.

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<sup>6</sup> Through collateral contacts the author obtained some information on each person who refused to fill out a schedule

They are in favor of increased United States armaments and a policy of economic and political isolation during a period of international crisis.

Differences<sup>\*</sup> in the attitudes of farm and non-farm dwellers are summarized as follows:

Farmers tended more to feel inferior in their social contacts compared with non-farmers, whereas non-farmers expressed somewhat more confidence in themselves and in the realization of their goal than did farmers.

Of those markedly conservative in their political and economic thinking there was a larger proportion of non-farmers than farmers. There was little difference in proportions on the liberal side of the scale.

There were no marked differentials in attitudes toward the family, education, or the law.

In general, farmers were slightly more against the government relief programs than non-farmers. Though there was little difference in farm-non-farm attitudes toward farm-crop control, the farmer opposed work relief, old-age assistance and unemployment insurance somewhat more than did the non-farmer.

Farmers were slightly more favorable in their general attitude toward Fairview community as a place to live, whereas non-farmers expressed more dissatisfaction with the community.

A slightly larger proportion of farmers than non-farmers opposed increased United States national defense measures, whereas non-farmers tended more than farmers to favor increases. Whereas non-farmers favored the United States cooperating in international political and economic affairs more than did farmers, proportionately more farmers were neutral on this issue.

Three of these fourteen attitudes were selected to correlate with a number of specified factors, in order to determine any relationships between attitudes and persons' background and status in the community. The three attitudes chosen for more detailed analysis were: (1) attitude toward the community in which these people were living; (2) a generalized feeling of superiority or inferiority in social relations; and (3) attitudes on present (1938) socio-economic issues. These three attitude-continua were considered in detail.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARD FAIRVIEW COMMUNITY—SUMMARY

For the purpose of analysis, it was found convenient to divide the attitude scores of the total population into three categories; 16 per cent with definitely favorable attitudes toward the community; 69 per cent with mild or neutral attitudes; and 15 per cent with definitely unfavorable attitudes. The intermediate neutral grouping (69 per cent) was eliminated, and a comparison was made between those with defin-

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<sup>\*</sup> These differences are actual differences and are not subject to the vagaries of sampling.

itely favorable and those with definitely unfavorable attitudes. The problem was thereby reduced to this: How did the persons representing opposite ends of the scale compare as to social and economic background and status?

Of the factors related to attitudes toward Fairview community, economic position and organizational affiliation-participation distinguished persons most sharply and significantly.

Attitude toward the community varied markedly with differences in economic position. One of the most conclusive relations was between income and attitude. When the income level reached \$1500, there was a sharp rise in favorable community attitude, especially among farmers. Persons with higher net assets tended to feel more favorable than those owning little. The unemployed were especially marked in their dissatisfaction, whereas the employed were more favorable.

Membership in organizations and number of memberships distinguished between persons more clearly than rate of attendance at meetings. In general, organizational affiliation and participation were more closely related to attitude among farmers than among non-farmers.

Age was significantly related to attitude. People in their twenties expressed considerable dissatisfaction, whereas those over thirty years were more favorable. Among persons over thirty-five years, there was little variation in feeling about the community.

Factors that were relatively unimportant in distinguishing those who felt favorable from those who felt unfavorable were: feeling of certainty that work would continue; sex; residence; and mobility. Only a very slight negative association was found between amount of education and favorable community attitude. Those with considerable education tended to feel unfavorable. In general, farmers tended more to feel favorable than did non-farmers.

#### ATTITUDES OF INFERIORITY-SUPERIORITY—SUMMARY

With abundant evidence that the content of personality is made up largely of habit-attitude patterns acquired in the home and other early primary contacts, parents' attitudes of inferiority or superiority in social relations become an integral part of the child's concept of himself—in relation to others in the community. Attitudes of superiority, or of inferiority and deference to others may color a wide area of the person's social relations—the types of groups with which he will identify and the ideologies he will choose as his own.



It was stated above that the modal group of persons living in the Fairview community expressed feelings of inferiority in their social contacts, but no attempt was made to characterize those who felt socially adequate as distinguished from those possessing feelings of inadequacy. For the purpose of making these comparisons in the present section the population was divided into three categories: namely, those who felt superior, nine per cent; those in a middle or neutral grouping, 68 per cent, and those who felt inferior, 22 per cent. These two end categories will be described.

The relationships between superiority-inferiority feelings and position in the economic system were clearly marked and were more significant than the relation between attitude and any other factor. As occupational status rose, tendency toward feeling of superiority increased, and inferiority feeling decreased. Of all classes in the population, the independent business men felt most adequate. Farmers felt least adequate.

People who belonged to community organizations and participated in their activities tended more to feel superior and less to feel inferior than those not affiliated. People who had only a few memberships and participated in fewer than ten meetings a month, however, differed only slightly in attitude from those who did not participate.

Whereas there was little relationship between age and feeling of inferiority or superiority, sex and education were more closely associated with these attitudes. In general, females felt inferior compared with males. College attendance was closely associated with feeling superior, whereas persons having attended high school were not markedly different in attitude from those of only grade-school education.

Family characteristics of marital status and number of children parents have had were only slightly associated with feeling of superiority or inferiority. Widowed persons tended toward feeling inferior. People with a few children tended more to feel superior and less to feel inferior than did persons with no children or many.

Residence and mobility factors per se were only slightly associated with feeling of superiority or inferiority.

The farmer seemed to occupy a position quite different from the non-farmer with relation to feeling superior or inferior. In all the items on which groups were compared, the farmer's feeling of inferiority contrasted with the attitude of the non-farmer rather markedly.

## ATTITUDES OF ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM-LIBERALISM—SUMMARY

Though there is a distinction between economic motives and economic symbols, no attempt has been made to distinguish the two in this paper. In the interpretation of the following data, it seems important to keep in mind that economic motives may have nothing to do with the reasons why people desire certain values, but only with the *means* whereby these values are obtained. That we consider some values more important than others (non-economic) is one thing, the means whereby we obtain them (economic) is quite another. Thus motivation underlying attitudes toward the symbols constituting the economic conservatism scale may represent feeling about social values—prestige, domination, control—not economic judgment per se.

The community was decidedly conservative in its social-economic views. For the purpose of describing the attitudes of different groupings within the community, persons on the ends of the distribution, indicating marked conservatism or liberalism, were compared. Those designated as definitely conservative included 25 per cent of the total population. The liberals included but seven per cent. Conservatives were definitely conservative, whereas the liberals were not radical, with the exception of three or four cases.

Factors associated with persons' position in the economic system were very significantly related to "conservatism." Work status, occupation, employer-employee status, certainty of work lasting, income for 1937, net assets, and type of farm operated were all related to conservatism. The only two factors which appeared to show differentiation in the proportion of liberals were employer-employee status and type of farm enterprise. The factors denoting economic position were much more significantly related to conservatism than to liberalism.

In general, conservatism was closely correlated with relative "advantaged" economic position in the community. Persons with higher income, higher occupational status, position of employer, and feeling of security in their employment, tended much more toward conservatism than persons who lacked this security and status.

The relationship between age, sex, and economic conservatism-liberalism was not marked. Though young people appeared to be more apathetic toward economic and political issues, the aged were not markedly different from the middle-aged. Males and females did not differ significantly in conservatism. Males tended slightly more toward liberalism than did females.

Education was closely and positively correlated with conservatism. There was little relationship between liberalism and amount of education.

No close relationship was found between attitude on the economic conservatism scale and the family characteristics of marital status and number of children. There was a slight inverse relationship between number of children and conservatism.

The relationship between residence and mobility factors (included in this study) and attitude was not marked. In general, conservatism decreased as one went from the village center to the open country. Persons born in Fairview tended more toward conservatism than those born outside the village.

Organizational affiliation and participation were closely related to economic conservatism-liberalism. There was a positive relationship between conservatism and the number of organization memberships, average number of meetings attended each month, and office holding.

The most conservative organizations in the community were some of the civic, fraternal, educational, recreational, and religious groups. They were composed largely of non-farmers. Members of farmers' marketing organizations were among the least conservative and held relatively high proportions of liberals among them.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are two generalizations that stand out sharply in each of the last three sections. Of all the factors correlated with attitude, persons of different attitude were distinguished most clearly and significantly by: (1) their economic position in the community, and (2) the types of formal groups (organizations) to which they belonged. Implications for further research as well as for community organization warrant consideration here.

Growing out of these conclusions there has arisen a problem broader than the description of the range and variation of attitudes within this rural community. The relation between attitudes and group affiliations suggested the possibility of isolating and describing ideological collectivities; that is, persons who, because of a common position in a configuration of community relations, potentially if not actually identify with one another in community interaction. The word "ideology" is used loosely in the literature, and with little consensus as to its specific meaning. It is used here to designate a system of *ideas* and

*activities* centered about the more fundamental social values of a culture. Thus, a system of ideas (attitude pattern) and groups-organizations-institutions (overt behavior pattern) together seem to form a configuration. The writer has designated this attitude-participation pattern "ideological," and those persons who identify with the symbols representing the values and organizations in this pattern an ideological group. The description of attitude-social-participation patterns in given interactional configurations may be a step toward the understanding of motivation underlying collective behavior. Such description would be invaluable in the prediction of collective behavior of any magnitude—persons in a group, persons in a community, communities in a culture, or nations in an international field of social action.

It was noted in each of the three preceding sections that persons' attitudes and their group affiliations did not exist in isolation, but in related patterns; a pattern of attitudes appeared to concur with a pattern of group identifications. Mr. Jones was conservative in his attitude toward the rights of labor and believed in a high protective tariff; he was a member of the Republican Party (not the Socialist) and the Episcopal Church (not the liberal church of the community). Factorial analysis is under way to determine related clusters of attitudes—also their possible relation to clusters of group associations.

It does not seem important at this point to ask whether the attitude determines the group identification, or the converse—but to describe the relation between attitude pattern and group pattern. Further evidence of the relation between the two was apparent in a community problem that arose in Fairview during the completion of the field work for the present study. A summary statement of the rise, course, and solution of the problem offers evidence for the hypothesis and serves to illustrate it. The following excerpt is taken from notes which the writer completed while in the field.

Gossip indicted an administrator of the Fairview Centralized School. Immediately the news spread throughout the school district from its source back to the village center. First there was a period of back-fence gossip. Discussion grew. The problem was regarded seriously and personally by community residents. Community opinion crystallized into the formation of several groups—clusters of persons formed around the personalities of prominent citizens. One such group consisted primarily of religious and civic workers. Another was made

up of several local business men. In the open country a farmer became the spokesman for a group of farmers. Still another group formed in a neighboring village within the school district.

It was noted that these groups were differentiated by persons of different occupational class, religious and political affiliations, and different attitudes on political-economic issues. Identifying themselves with one group were persons largely in professional occupations and civic-minded women. Those reputedly aligned with a handful of business men were largely business owner-operators. There was no evidence that the business men represented a broader occupational class. Those of the farm group appeared to be all farmers, largely owner-operators. The group that formed in the nearby village was more obscure to the writer.

Was it a coincidence that groups such as these should arise spontaneously in a community crisis? Why did leaders of civic organizations not call committees together to get rid of the "corrupt" administrators? Instead of meeting as organized groups to exert pressure, people of a *common position* in the school situation clustered together. These spontaneous ideological groups were loose-knit in organization but more powerful in concerted action than any other type of aggregate in the community. This is confirmed by the action taken at the school meeting.

The findings of this study suggest the possibility of ferreting out persons in any local community whose attitude-patterns and concomitant group identifications would place them together on major community issues. Furthermore, the methodology developed may be refined and used effectively toward this end.

To point out that there is a relation between attitude pattern and group identification is but a step toward describing the specific connection between the two in a context of shifting community relations. The analysis of the position of a person or group in a field of social action has been suggested as a fruitful approach to the description of these relations. The terms "position" and "situation" have been used vaguely and ambiguously. It is suggested that, with the refinement of the concepts, further insight into the social-psychology of rural life will be obtained, whether one is concerned with description and prediction of interpersonal relations or of intragroup, intergroup, or intercommunity relations. A critical discussion of these terms lies outside the scope of this report. The data suggested, however, two questions which

may prove challenging to future research in the field:

1. What are the factors and relative strength of the factors which combine to define one's position in a social situation? The economic component of position was shown to be of great importance, but other factors entered in. The alignment of persons together in groups and some groups with certain other groups was not simply along economic lines. Some possessing wealth identified themselves with the "have nots." To illustrate, whatever were the factors operating to bind the members of the one group of religious and civic workers, considerations were not dominantly monetary. There appeared to be a common social-cultural background which overshadowed differences in economic status or monetary gain. In this instance, it appeared that persons who had similar value judgments arising out of a similar background defined the situation from a single vantage point. Still another factor defining position was evidenced in the school situation. Some appeared to be motivated by personal consideration—that is, to react to other personalities and issues as representing personal threat or assurance. Illustrative was the behavior of one person in the situation. According to a statement made by him during an interview, he appeared to have little to gain or lose financially. Moreover, his reactions had little relation to the culture norms of the community. His position seemed to be defined largely by a desire to hurt those who had hurt him. The factors and the relative strength of the factors operating in various situations remain to be described.

2. What combination of attitude and group-identification patterns cluster about particular positions? The groups which arose out of the discussion in the Fairview situation were characterized by different attitudes toward the issues, by different group identifications in the community, and by different socio-economic backgrounds. Though there were as many different reactions to the issues as participating persons, there was a discernible clustering of attitudes and group-identifications around relatively few positions.

These and other pertinent questions need to be refined and restated as hypotheses to be subjected to further research. Because of the complexity of such problems, it is likely that they will have to be attacked by cooperative research.

It is suggested that the method developed in this study might be refined and employed in pursuing the foregoing questions. A number of advantages seem apparent. Such an instrument—combination of at-

titude tests, face sheet, social participation scales—could be administered by relatively untrained assistants, not requiring highly trained sociologists, whose services are imperative in much community description and diagnosis now going on. This procedure, being relatively impersonal, would eliminate the necessity of building up rapport over a longer period. Furthermore, the results could be made serviceable for comparison by being standardized and quantified. This would make possible the application of the technique to communities over such a wide area that the results would be rendered applicable to diagnosis, to planning, and to organization of collectivities of any magnitude. Thus not only a description of the forms of interaction may be obtained, and of the persons participating, but a knowledge of the motivation behind these forms may thereby be added which is invaluable in diagnosis and prognosis for community organization. This promises to provide the groundwork for any case analysis which may be necessary on the personal level.

The analysis of motivation underlying rural community interaction has been markedly absent from rural sociology literature. In the field of community organization, diagnosis has consisted largely of the analysis of special-interest groups, institutions, and types of statistical collectivities frequently outside the context of specific community situations. The writer does not wish to minimize the importance of such work as has been accomplished; on the contrary, much of the groundwork has been completed. He does wish to emphasize, however, what seem to him important next steps: namely, the development of a point of view and methodology that may be used in the quantitative description of social *interaction* and its underlying *motivation*—toward the end of community diagnosis and organization. It seems that the description of collective behavior may proceed on the suggested "ideological" level, which includes the consideration of action toward social values in a concrete social context—a hitherto largely ignored aspect of interactional description.

# THE ADJUSTMENT OF FAMILY LIFE TO ITS PHYSICAL SHELTER

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Action in the housing field is guided by a variety of scientific disciplines, such as architecture, law, social work, economics, and home economics. Whether sociology, too, is able to make a contribution is a question of practical importance. Sociological research in the housing field is not altogether lacking. Historical material as to the development of housing conditions has been collected and ably represented by our colleagues. Well known is the recent research of Professor F. Stuart Chapin on measurement of morale under different housing conditions.<sup>1</sup> Ecological studies tend to include maps on the distribution of sub-standard housing in different parts of the city. In this paper I should like to urge, however, an even closer cooperation between the sociologist and the architect in the planning of the family home.

It is often forgotten that the architect in the every-day routine of his professional work is obliged to make decisions of extreme social significance. The functional value of any home design will depend upon the insight of the architect into the functions that are actually going to take place in the home. Does the architect really know or is he equipped to conduct research that will tell him whether and to what extent the kitchen is used as a living-room, whether the need for privacy calls for a greater number of relatively small subdivisions on a given space or whether the desire for space may be accommodated by a more limited number of relatively large room-units in the apartment or family house?

Whenever confronted with questions of this type—and no construction project fails to pose such questions—the architect will refer to the rather vague notions of “past experience” and intuition. His experience, however, is limited. On the other hand, the functions of family life that are pertinent to the home design vary considerably according to the pattern of family life in different social groups, in different nationality groups, in different parts of the country, and—last but not least—with age and size of the family. I do not stress my point too far if I say that the modern architect does not possess a re-

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<sup>1</sup> F. Stuart Chapin, “The Effects of Slum Clearance and Rehousing on Family and Community Relationships in Minneapolis,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1938), No. 5, pp. 744-63.



liable body of information in regard to these conditions. Thus, however far skill and insight of the individual architect might be developed, he is not able to hand his experiences down systematically to the young generation of architects that is being trained at the universities. Also, whether failures and successes in the social aspects of the home design will be communicated to the architectural profession at large is left to chance. The consequence is an unnecessary repetition of mistakes which could be avoided. Unfortunately, the interest of the architect in a house ceases once it is built. The home design is never tested from the social point of view. Criticism, mainly in the form of troublesome complaints on the part of the tenants, seldom gets further than to the management which might try to appease the tenants but is unable to improve conditions.

Undoubtedly, we are confronted here with a field of useful activity which the sociologist, so far, has neglected. The reason for this complete lack of interest on the part of the sociologist might be sought in his misunderstanding of the work of the architect. Especially in regard to modern home planning is it customary to assume the solution of the problem on the basis merely of technological considerations. We learn about model kitchens that have been constructed with the help of careful studies in the timing of different household activities. In the same manner, the family home at large is often looked upon as the outcome of rational calculations about home activities—as they should be. We might take the view that the family has to adjust to the home, planned on the basis of an experimental situation, instead of fitting the home to possibly irrational family traditions. As a matter of fact, however, it is impossible fully to determine the home design on the basis of technological considerations only. The drafting room of the architect always produces several variations in the solution of one and the same technological problem. To be sure, the sociologist will never be able to plan a home design around his information on family life only. But he will be able to choose with regard to social implications, once the different technological possibilities have been pointed out to him.

Planning a home involves a compromise. Even in the most elaborate residential palace, it would be impossible to provide a separate room-unit for every one of the activities that will take place in the building. The desire for additional space might be considered almost unlimited. Some activities always have to be coordinated in one and the

same room-unit. This is especially true if we consider the housing problem of the lower-income groups where the space available is extremely limited. Planning a home for the family, here, requires a rather complicated line of thought. The basic functions of family life have to be visualized. Then the question arises which of these activities necessarily have to be separated from each other in order to avoid serious frictions in the functioning of family life. It will be a matter of weighing different combinations of activities against each other. For example, is the kitchen-living room combination an advisable feature in the home design? It makes possible a design that includes one spacious room-unit. This seems the more important, as it is the work-room of the housewife—the only member of the family who generally stays at home during the whole day. On the other hand, this solution of the home design involves the inconvenience of friction between very different activities during the leisure-time hours of the evening. Dish-washing, on the one hand, and relaxation, radio-listening, and so forth, on the other, might interfere with each other.

To mention another problem of social importance, in the modern family a divergence of interests and leisure-time activities can be observed between the adult generation, on the one hand, and adolescents and perhaps even children, on the other hand. This makes it very desirable to design a home that allows for a separation of leisure-time activities in the evening into two different relatively spacious room-units. A home design with a fairly large kitchen plus a spacious living-room might provide possibilities for the young generation to take their friends home instead of meeting them outside the home. Within certain rent and technological limits, however, this type of solution might force a rather severe compromise upon the family so far as sleeping conditions are concerned. It might be impossible to provide three bedrooms of adequate size. What compromise will the architect make? It is obvious that, whatever his solution might be, it will have influence upon the adjustment of the family to the home. Even as a mere physical shelter, the house is sure to suggest a certain way of living, and it is proper to ask whether the architect with his technological background alone is equipped adequately to evaluate the situation.

Leisure-time activities on the part of the young generation widen the scope of home-planning far beyond the blue prints for the individual apartment or family house. Where adequate club-room facilities are provided in the neighborhood and where this type of social activities

is efficient enough to attract the majority of adolescents, this particular function might be eliminated from the family home. The same is true for other specialized activities, such as home studies and music practice. If libraries and studios are available in the city, the architect might decide upon a home design which does not consider the need for privacy during the leisure-time hours; he might, instead, improve upon the sleeping conditions.

Considerations of this kind have made it clear that residential housing has to be developed more and more on the basis of neighborhood planning rather than of planning the individual home only. The sociologist is too well aware of the continuous elimination of functions from the individual family to be surprised at this trend. But does the sociologist today cooperate in laying out a thoughtful policy of neighborhood planning in which the considerable body of available sociological information on the family is taken into account? We are safe in answering no. At the same time the most interesting experiments in the field of neighborhood planning are being conducted from year to year, especially in the housing projects of the United States Housing Authority. Club-room facilities are provided for the tenants in the community house that has become a standing feature of these projects. But here, again, the physical shelter of these extra-familial functions might be planned in many ways. The community house suggests organized social activities centering upon specialized group interests, such as lectures, hobbies, and social gatherings of different age groups. Other projects encourage basement clubs in which a limited number of families meet more or less informally. These gatherings are for no other purpose than social contacts and the discussion of problems of common interest, although eventually a men's club, a women's club, a boys' club, etc., may be organized. Which type of social interaction in the planned neighborhood is more desirable, the centralized or the decentralized one? The sociologist has not yet said his word on the question. At the same time all over the country, projects are under way that are going to decide this question for the next sixty years on no other basis than the common sense of the laymen.

Any decision as to the most adequate home design will depend, of course, upon the type of family life that is going to prevail among the prospective tenants. Research into home activities,<sup>3</sup> which I had the

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<sup>3</sup> An account of the research procedures in this Swedish investigation will appear in a publication of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, July, 1941.

opportunity to carry out in Stockholm, Sweden, revealed significant differences in the habits of manual and white-collar labor. The habit of using the kitchen as a living room was most prevalent in the manual-labor group. In this social group, also, the desire for privacy was much less expressed than among the white-collar group. On the other hand, the inconvenience of small size of the individual room-units was sufficient to emphasize consideration of space rather than privacy wherever possible. Information of this sort might be able to guide the architect wherever he knows for which social group he is planning a residence. His plan will be influenced also by the average size of the prospective families. The needs of the family in regard to its physical shelter vary considerably during the natural development of the family. The separation of activities will have to be planned on a different basis in a family with infants, in a family with school children, or in a family with adolescent boys and girls. In this country, varying family traditions in different racial or nationality groups could influence considerations about the best-adjusted home design.

To be sure, modern housing is concerned with standard designs. It would be impossible to fit apartment or family home to the needs of any particular family. The architect builds for a wide market, catering to many types of families at the same time. This, however, only complicates the social implications involved. It implies again a compromise between different possible demand situations. A good standard design should be the outcome of careful considerations of different possible ways of living and not a technological construction into a social vacuum.

I feel strongly that the problems indicated above represent a challenge to sociological research. A few remarks might well be added as to the type of research that is needed in this field. It would be thoroughly unwise to conduct a questionnaire-type of investigation in which the different members of the family or the housewife are asked about their desires in regard to the home design. Several housing investigations with a similar purpose have failed on the basis of this mistake. In our Swedish investigation we have found that the individual families are mainly concerned with the most outstanding handicap of their present quarters. This immediate concern overshadows their broader points of view. Seldom are they able to confront and weigh against each other different possibilities in the home design, and to pose their advantages and disadvantages.

Very little is known today about the rhythm of family activities at home. This fact suggests that for some time to come we shall have to resort to exploratory studies. What, actually, are the functions that have to be crowded into the family home? To find out something about these basic phenomena, to carry on an investigation of the family for once from a strictly behavioristic point of view, I should suggest, as I did in Sweden, the collecting of primary material that corresponds to the customary investigations into the families' consumption habits via a minute account of the family budget. Applied to our special problem this would mean the collection of data about the activities which for a certain time, possibly for a selected week, actually have been carried out in the family home and by the different members of the family. The time, the activity, and also the room-unit in which the activity took place would have to be recorded. This basic material would make possible the measurement of the occupancy of the different room-units, the customary separation of activities, the amount of time spent for the various activities, the cohesion of family life in each individual case or for various types of families and various types of home design. It will not be possible, however, to evaluate the desirability of the home design on the basis of this material alone. The pattern of family life might itself be criticized, and it might not be difficult in many instances to arrive at the conclusion that these features of family life are the outcome of undesirable home design. Just to mention some examples, the family might split up into several groups because of unavoidable overcrowding at the dinner table in the narrow pantry. Adolescent boys and girls might be found spending less of their leisure time at home with decreasing size of the residence. The combination of home-studies and leisure-time activities in the same room-unit during the evening hours might be looked upon as a disadvantage. The problem of family adjustment will not be properly evaluated unless insight is gained into the subjective attitude of the members of the family. Maladjustment is not always expressed in overt behavior; it might take the form of mental strain or sometimes that of a negative reaction to the family home.

A guided interview might be added to the activity records, in which opinions are solicited about the adjustment of different functions of family life to the home. Key-situations that would have to be discussed here are, among others, coordination of leisure-time activities in the evening hours, sleeping arrangements and use of the bath-

room, the presence of visitors, and meal times in or outside the kitchen.

It may be necessary to warn against undue expectations as to the outcome of sociological research in this field. The sociologist will not be able to plan the "ideal home." It is economically impossible to aim so high. In the housing field everything is compromise. It will be the sociologist's function rather to weigh different undesirable social consequences against each other, some of which might have to be accepted as a matter of technological and economic necessity. The practical possibilities of the type of research suggested above are very well expressed in the words of the director of the Cooperative Building Society in Sweden (H. S. B.), who assisted us financially in our investigation. He said, "If we just find out before we build a million-Kronors project that the prospective tenants will prefer two smaller closets instead of one large closet, your research will pay." Our ambitions, of course, went further than that.

## THE PLACE OF SOCIOLOGICAL STATISTICS IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM

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Sociologists have been very hopeful of the results of the application of statistical methods to their problems and data. Some important writers have propounded the view that *only* by means of quantitative techniques of analysis can research in sociology lay claim to scientific validity. A less extreme, and more widely held position, has been that, though there may always be good reason for the study by sociologists of unmeasured data, the greater promise of scientific discoveries lies in the quantification and statistical analysis of social data. The present trend of publications in sociology is definitely in the direction of studies based upon observational materials; and the research projects that count, measure, and apply the rapidly increasing and more refined statistical methods of description, analysis, and induction enjoy considerable, and frequently the greatest, interest and esteem.

In view of these considerations, it may seem surprising that so little progress has been achieved by sociologists in the statistical training of their apprentices, the undergraduate and graduate students specializing in sociology who, presumably, will be the investigators of the next generation and the major consumers of the sociological literature of tomorrow. In only a few university departments has there been developed a rounded curriculum of courses in quantitative sociology.

The best indication of the relative lack of development of undergraduate and graduate work in sociological statistics is the small number of general treatises on the subject. Economics, psychology, and education have each developed an extensive library of monographs, textbooks, and related materials showing the applications of general statistical techniques to their subject-matter. To date, not a single author has ventured to give to a book the title *Sociological Statistics* or *Statistics in Sociology*. Of the three volumes that bear the more non-committal title *Social Statistics*,<sup>1</sup> two are fifteen years old and are very elementary manuals, which have very little material on the use of the more important methods of analysis with respect to sociological data.

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<sup>1</sup>M. C. Elmer, *Social Statistics* (Los Angeles: Miller, 1926); C. C. Dittmer, *Introduction to Social Statistics* (Chicago: Shaw, 1926); A. Clyde White, *Social Statistics* (New York: Harpers, 1933).

Probably most university departments of psychology, economics, and education encourage all undergraduate and graduate students to enroll for at least a one-semester or a one-quarter course in the application of statistics to their subject matter. A survey by the author shows that not even all the larger departments of sociology offer courses in statistical methods, and certainly not more than half a dozen departments—if there are so many—expect all their undergraduates and graduate students to enroll in such a course.

No good case can be made for the claim that training in statistical methods for students in sociology is adequately provided by the courses in mathematics or in the other social sciences. All statistical methods are, to be sure, mathematical techniques, and their validity rests upon rigid mathematical demonstrations. Courses in mathematical statistics afford a good background for applied statistics and are an indispensable prerequisite for advanced work, but they cannot be regarded, in general, as adequate substitutes for the student specializing in *any* of the social sciences. The economists, psychologists, and educators do not accept such courses as substitutes for their own in institutions which have the personnel and facilities for offering independent courses. The reason is not far to seek. Statistical methods have been evolved, for the most part, by persons skilled in mathematics, but interested in the statistical methods primarily as practical devices in relationship to concrete problems in gambling, astronomy, biology, population, education, business, and other fields. The learning process, in the case of a person who is not a mathematician or mathematically inclined, develops most happily by a corresponding development in relation to specific content. The mathematical proof of statistical formulas is independent of all subject matter, but an appreciation of the uses of the techniques is most intimately associated with concrete problems which are within the students' range of interests.

Furthermore, every applied field of statistics involves a selected combination of devices which is peculiar to the given subject. The student of economics needs to spend much time upon the construction of index numbers and the analysis of time trends, whereas the student of psychology has little or no interest in either of these but wants to learn scaling methods, validity of test scores, and, if he is sufficiently advanced, factor analysis and vector analysis. The student of education needs to learn methods for the transmutation of grades, which are of less value to the psychologist, and are of no use at all to the econo-



mist. This great divergence of interest on the part of those in the various social sciences can be easily demonstrated by showing the varying relative amounts of space devoted to various topics in the treatises intended to cover statistical methods and problems in the various fields. As the subject of sociological statistics comes of age, it will undoubtedly develop its own peculiar types of problems in relation to which the student will attain competence at specialized formulas and procedures.

The relatively advanced development of applied statistics in other fields, such as economics and psychology compared with sociology, is explained, no doubt, by specific differences in the subject matter of the several fields. In almost every branch of economic research extensive quantitative materials are readily available in units of transactions, commodities, or money. Governmental agencies continuously gather detailed statistical data pertaining to many spheres of economic activity. Some of the materials dealt with by statistical agencies in the Federal Reserve Board, Department of Commerce, and Department of Agriculture are so important that their publication immediately and profoundly affects crucial areas of the national economy. Large-scale private enterprises, like the insurance, telephone, and automobile corporations, would have to bear millions of dollars of added expense if they were compelled to dispense with the services of their statistical departments. None of the statistical data which the sociologist now studies, or has in prospect, compares with these in immediate practical importance.

The general research materials of psychology are composed largely of measured laboratory observations and of scored tests of one kind or another. Problems of methodology with respect to their materials commonly resolve themselves directly into questions of appropriate statistical technique. In fact, the fields of mental testing and much of the analysis of laboratory research have developed in an integrated way with methods of statistical analysis. The terms "psychometrics" and "mental measurements" applied to a course of study or to a treatise often denote both the technique of measuring *and* statistical methods of analyzing the results of measurement. Every student of psychology who looks forward seriously to making a career of his subject necessarily accepts the obligation to acquire at least more than elementary training in statistical procedures.

What is the character and extent of the use of statistical methods in sociology at the present time? We must answer this question, at

least in a general way, if we are to arrive at valid and significant conclusions concerning the place of sociological statistics in college curricula.

As is well known, the merits of the case history and related procedures based upon verbal symbols, as against the more objective, quantitative approaches have been for many years one of the liveliest and most persistent polemical topics in our circles. A considerable proportion of sociologists—including those actively engaged in empirical research—are interested in what are variously termed the dynamic, interactional, or organic aspects of personality, culture, and institutions, and they attempt to get directly at the phenomena which express these vital aspects of society. Accordingly, they are predisposed to place emphasis upon "interpretative" and "insight-giving" techniques. The use of purely verbal, to the complete exclusion of quantitative, symbols in empirical studies is, however, decreasing and tends to be sanctioned by most sociologists today only when such investigations are for preliminary exploration, and in anticipation of at least some later statistical confirmation or qualification of the verbal evidence.

It will aid us to evaluate more fully the present scope of statistical operations with respect to sociological data, and to reach conclusions concerning the needs of training, if we distinguish three levels at which statistical procedures in sociology are currently found.

(1) Statistical data and simple description computations as *incidental bits of evidence* are used very widely in all kinds of reports. There is hardly a writer in the field of sociology who has not had occasion to introduce a table or a set of figures, and to calculate a mean and a percentage. The discursive treatment of many sociological topics provides their authors frequent occasion to present fugitive facts phrased in quantitative form. Such *secular* use of statistical materials and statistical conclusions does not necessarily call for formal training. It is certainly possible for an intelligent student, but one altogether without preparation in statistical methods, to read with understanding the general treatises in any of the major fields of sociological interest where statistics are used in this "popular" fashion. As a matter of fact, our students *are*, for the most part, without such training, and the authors of many of the treatises they read may or may not exceed them in such learning. One can still "get by"—indeed, can attain eminence—in practically any field of sociological scholarship without training, skill, or understanding of quantitative techniques. This is less

likely to be true of the research men who are now in training. Inadequacy of preparation in statistics is likely to be a severe handicap in many lines of sociological scholarship and research.

(2) A more advanced level of statistical technique is to be found in projects in which quantitative materials are used systematically for descriptive purposes. The general trend in our field is, of course, away from the exclusively verbal description of unique and subjective factors, and toward the inclusion of measurements of those elements for which significant and practical units are at hand or can be devised. The surveys of communities, institutions, culture groups, and movements, which are such frequent research projects of our graduate students, usually entail at least a moderate compilation of materials showing the composition and traits of component members and groups. Studies of social change and social trends invariably entail series of historical variables, which are usually dealt with on the descriptive level. The last six years have witnessed a very considerable contribution to this type of research by governmental agencies, such as the W. P. A., the National Resources Committee, and corresponding state and local bodies, augmenting the stream of publications emanating from the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other divisions. In general, these studies do not entail more than the simplest statistical devices. Very little is done with the data, as a rule, beyond the elementary processes of tabulation, summarization, and graphic representation. One frequency distribution is commonly compared with another, or a set of rates for one variable is shown to have a geographical patterning that suggests a correlation with another variable. Little use is made in these projects of anything beyond the simplest descriptive, statistical devices. If one pages through a dozen such projects, he is likely to encounter a number of averages, an occasional measure of variability, but probably not a single analytical device, such as a measure of correlation, trend analysis, or measure of significance of differences, not to speak of more sophisticated statistical devices.

In view of their objectives, it is as yet a matter of speculation and possible controversy as to how useful the more involved techniques of analysis and statistical induction can possibly be with respect to these projects. In some of the very substantial projects undertaken with the lavish support of the government or private foundations, and under the direction of men who have certainly been competent to guide

technical statistical analysis, no more than tabulation and simple description has been attempted.

On the whole, sociologists have adhered strongly to their traditional bias in favor of emphasis on developmental processes, their inter-relationships, and the organic aspects of group life. They have adapted the use of descriptive statistical data and methods to these purposes. They have hesitated somewhat to use the scalpel in order to dissect and cut tissues apart. In the past there were many real and valid reasons for this bias, not least of which was that techniques for dealing adequately with constituent measured elements needed yet to be invented, experimented with, and made practical.

(3) This brings us to the third level of quantitative research. The most ambitious use of statistical techniques is for the *precise* measurement of "causes" (determining factors, concomitant variations) or complexes of "causes," in which as social scientists we are interested. Methods of statistical analysis and statistical induction, which were discovered and found useful in the study of mass phenomena in astronomy, physics, biology, education, psychology, and economics, have been experimented with in our own field and have shown considerable promise.

Two principal lines of inquiry have been opened by these methods. (a) The first includes techniques for analyzing situations in such a manner as to determine precise functional relationships. Such techniques may be considered as falling under the general designation of *measures of correlation*, but we must then think of a much larger and richer array of devices than is ordinarily suggested by that phrase. In considering the future of their subject, sociologists have anticipated the possibilities of large-scale forecasting and prediction; these methods give great promise for the realization of such hopes. (b) Another class of statistical procedures reveals the variation of observations or measurements under different conditions and makes it possible to generalize from large and small samples and to measure margins of error in all types of statistical reckoning. This second type of analytical device, also, helps us to isolate and measure "causal" influences.

In general, modern statistical devices promise to provide the social scientists, sociologist included, with controls equivalent to laboratory procedure, the lack of which has hitherto handicapped them in relation to workers in the physical sciences.

It is certainly too early to recast all our procedures of investigation, and our corresponding methods of teaching, to the form demanded

by modern methods of statistical analysis. On the other hand, it will be discreditable backwardness not to recognize the development already achieved in the uses of these techniques. Both the data and the applied mathematical mechanisms in this field are already sufficiently advanced to warrant the development of sociology courses based upon them. As yet, neither we nor our students have shown ourselves sufficiently prepared to make the most of the challenge and the opportunities.

Many excellent treatises have been written on general problems of social research, and university courses with such titles as *Methods of Social Research* and *Methods of Social Investigation* are widely offered in sociology departments. On the whole, the orientation in this field is more and more toward problems based upon numerical data. On the quantitative side, attention is given to methods of choosing samples; the drawing up of schedules, questionnaires, and scales; methods of conducting interviews; and procedures of tabulation, and graphic presentation. For the most part, the training of sociology students, particularly undergraduates, in the methods of quantitative research, stops at this point. The careful planning of projects, the refinement of units, and the collection of data are particularly crucial aspects of sociological research. The student can be brought much further toward the clarification of these problems, however, if he is also familiar with the basic statistical concepts that must be used in the classification, summarization, description, and analysis of numerical materials.

It should be clear on the basis of the present widespread esteem for quantitative methods, and the hopes widely held for their extended use, that the lack of even basic courses in sociological statistics is a serious fault of our curricula. The following are some of the principal advantages that such courses may be expected to provide:

(a) If even the ordinary undergraduate students are to follow current sociological investigation to better advantage than at present, they should become acquainted with the standard retinue of basic statistical methods (averages, measures of variability, the normal distribution, correlation, sampling, and measures of error) as these devices pertain to sociological materials and problems. They should learn, also, the assumptions upon which statistical concepts are based, especially those which limit their use and render certain types of conclusions invalid.

(b) The course in sociological statistics, when properly given, is a valuable contribution to the student's general education, especially

insofar as the statistical method, better than any other technique used by sociologists, illustrates the common ground of all scientific method. The course can be given in such a way as to emphasize that sociological materials, which cannot be made to operate under artificial controls, are treated by the more refined statistical methods, with the same effect as if the laboratory controls were operative. Apart from scientific method, many other important phases of the modern world, unrelated to sociology, are incomprehensible without some basis in statistics.

(c) The skills which the student acquires in such a course can be used to advantage directly and indirectly in their independent research projects while they are in college, and can be helpful to them incidentally in the professional positions to which such a large proportion of them aspire.

(d) Those students who will go into graduate work in sociology and related fields most certainly need to understand and to manipulate so important a tool. For scholarship and research competence in many fields of sociological specialization, understanding of statistical concepts is rapidly becoming indispensable.

(e) A final reason for establishing courses of study in sociological statistics is in order that we may participate in the professional training of research men and women who will exploit and expand the many opportunities that exist in governmental and private agencies. Opportunities of this sort have existed in recent years beyond our capacity to fill them with trained persons. Though such openings are not likely to become so numerous as in the profession of social work, into which many of our graduates in the past have entered, the indications point to their relative increase and to a diminution of some of the other professional openings for students majoring in sociology.

The development of sociological statistics as an important part of the college curriculum is beset by the difficulty that as a branch of applied mathematics, it involves an interest and a type of training on the part of both teacher and student which are very specialized and very much removed from other common sociological interests and aptitudes. The most serious problems in teaching statistics are related to the mathematical character of the material. Statistics is probably doomed never to become a "snap" or popular course. It is to be hoped that the difficulties inherent in its mathematical character will be minimized by the sound training in quantitative techniques of an increasing number of academic men and by the development of a tradition

which will include an accumulation of published materials and communicated skills in making the progress of the student easier, more profitable and more satisfying.

The principal purpose of all courses in sociological statistics is to encourage the student to see many of the problems of sociology as numerical problems, that is, problems in which the data are magnitudes, and in which the methods of analysis are mathematical computations. There are many ways in which we may and should sweeten this bitter pill; we may get away from rote and drill procedures, we may emphasize critical interpretations, and we may use all the devices of inspired and skillful pedagogy of which we are capable. The purpose we must not lose sight of, however, is to bring to the student an appreciation of statistical concepts as techniques for solving important sociological problems in which the data have been phrased as numerical values.

Our principal difficulty is that students of sociology are probably more strongly conditioned against numbers and mathematical procedures than are most other selected groups of college students, and they may also be less apt. They frankly and almost cheerfully assert their lack of susceptibility to thinking in terms of quantitative materials and the difficulties they have in manipulating that type of data. These students are part of a general patterning in which a good measure of distaste for arithmetic is engendered in the grade schools, is reinforced in many cases by unhappy experiences with algebra and geometry in high school, and is topped by the widespread cynicism toward statistical methods, which, we must admit, is well justified by their frequent quackish use on the part of laymen and professionals with low standards.

Men and women are generally attracted to sociology on the basis of humane interests, by reason of their sensitivity to problems of social relationship, because of some measure of philosophical pre-occupation with the relation of man to society or the universe, by a desire to remedy one or many social ills, or by a combination of these motivations. They do not come to it with the same kind of aptitudes, experiences, and anticipations of careful and consistent work which characterize prospective students in the fields in which mathematics has already established its place. If they become strongly imbued with the ideals of sociology as a science—and many students do—it is usually on the basis of theoretical considerations and not because they have acquired insight into the nicer points of partial correlation, vector analysis, and probability theory.

What are we to do in the face of this problem presented by the insufficiency of training, difficulty, and unpopularity of mathematics? I believe that, in advising freshman and sophomore sociology or prospective sociology students, we should, more than we do, encourage those who have escaped the blight of negative reactions toward mathematics, and who show any disposition toward that science, to choose mathematics courses as electives. Students who prefer not to take mathematics courses should be encouraged to enroll in the elementary statistics course as early in their college course as is possible. They will do as good work as freshmen as they will as seniors and will have the benefit of this background in their other courses. Those students who become genuinely interested in statistical studies and wish to do more extensive work will then have sufficient time to take courses in mathematics, general methods of investigation, advanced sociological statistics, and similar courses in other departments.

An important consideration is that a student can go far in his statistical training without more formal work in mathematics than he has done in high school. To illustrate by examples at random, a student can learn the method of least squares, and use it intelligently, without knowledge of differential calculus. Similarly, he can learn to understand the important considerations pertaining to the normal distribution and the properties of the normal surface before he has even heard of the calculus of probabilities. The same applies to the ability to do various types of correlation analysis. Often it is considerably better that the student who is to go in this field should get some notion of statistical practice before undertaking mathematical theory, because he then has better motivation, sense of goal, and even aptitude with respect to his work in mathematics.

Another approach has already been experimented upon and deserves more systematic trial—that is, teaching statistics and its mathematical basis at the same time. Miss Helen M. Walker's *Mathematics Essential for Elementary Statistics*,<sup>3</sup> as a companion volume to a statistical text, is a valuable contribution to this procedure. There is good precedent for this combination of pure and applied mathematics. The mathematics required of engineering students is offered in most colleges in close coordination with the courses they take in physics and mechanics. In my own university this procedure is well established, and at the present time neither the engineering nor the mathematics

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<sup>3</sup> New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934.



departments would willingly consider any change in this arrangement.

Another consideration which follows from the fact that statistical methods are applied mathematics is that the student cannot learn the concepts passively, by the oral sense alone. No method has yet been discovered for teaching mathematical processes except by supplementing lectures with varied problems on which the student can exercise his own independent initiative.

This brings us to another major difficulty which hampers the development of courses in sociological statistics. Practically no systematic work has been done as yet toward the compilation of numerical sociological data in forms suitable to be used as laboratory demonstrations and exercises in classes in sociological statistics. In order to integrate the course in statistics with other courses, it is necessary that numerical data from the fields of social psychology, public opinion, human ecology, population, race relations, criminology, the family, social institutions, and other subjects in our sociological curriculum shall be selected as the concrete illustrations of the materials and methods of sociological statistics.

Most sociology students who register for courses in statistics feel that they are paying a heavy price in terms of the time they spend and the arduousness of the work they do. We who offer such courses owe it to the students to put them to work at problems that bear relationship to other courses they take in sociology and to their general sociological interests. What we shall be able to accomplish in this respect will naturally become embodied in forthcoming textbooks, exercise books, general treatises, and similar publications. The difficulties of this field are, in good measure, a function of our inexperience in developing appropriate pedagogical methods and, also, in organizing appropriate materials of study.

## HOUSING THE MASSES

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Much of the difficulty in finding even temporary solutions for the problems encountered in providing housing for the masses can be traced directly to the increasingly dynamic character of current life. Change is not merely a concomitant of life in our times; it is coming to be the very essence of that life. Modern populations grow rapidly and shift unpredictably from one geographic area to another, from rural to urban districts and back again. At the same time, conceptions of what constitutes satisfactory housing shift very rapidly.

Under such conditions the individually owned homeplace of earlier decades has lost its position in the life of the American folk, and in its stead have come the tumbled-down shack on the tenant farm, the company house in the mining town, the row houses and rent barracks of the industrial city, the auto camps and trailer parks along the main highway, and the jungle camps in the wastelands. In every instance, housing had been reduced to its lowest terms: mere shelter with a barren, standardized gracelessness which offers to the restless, shifting masses practically none of the elements by which a house may be made into a home. Even in the middle and upper classes, furnished rooms, apartments, and hotels are organized to deal with a population that merely floats on the surface of city life without community roots, without home interests or activities.

Housing such a population is a highly speculative undertaking full of unforeseeable risks. As the tides of population ebb and flow, whole communities boom or blight, and the most cautious investor may be caught with properties whose values have been only partially utilized. When he ventures to invest in a growing district, he must hold his building costs to a minimum, insist on a wide margin of profit, and emphasize those features which appeal to prospective renters or purchasers regardless of their intrinsic worth. Though the minimum life of even poorly constructed houses may be a generation and the life of well-constructed houses may be a century or more, no builder—whether building for his own taste, or for sale at a profit—can escape the fear that a shift in public taste, a new road or bridge, the closing of a local factory, a business depression or a war may destroy a large share of his investment.

So great and uncontrollable are the risks in construction and so essential is good housing to sound national economy that it is inevitable that governmental agencies should take a hand in its development. At the present time in a score or more of ways both state and federal agencies have undertaken to promote local programs dealing with one or more phases of the housing problem: financing, establishment of minimum standards, elimination of excessive speculation and excessive profits, community planning, and actual construction and management of rental properties. In fact, so many agencies are concerned and so wide a variety of programs are sponsored that conflict, duplication of effort, and competition have appeared not only among private builders but even among the various governmental agencies

Even a superficial examination of the various present-day movements and programs indicates certain basic considerations which should influence any long-range nation-wide approach to this problem. Failure to take them into account will undoubtedly lead to serious difficulties and wastage if not to continued failure to meet the problem adequately.

First among these considerations is the question of centralization versus decentralization. A multiplicity of factors has led to the growth of the great city, but the effects of these factors now appear to have been greatly dampened, if not completely offset, by the appearance of new factors in national economy. The proportion of industrial to non-industrial population cannot be indefinitely increased. Moreover, industry itself is decentralizing in the effort to reduce costs and stabilize its operations. Industrial workers in increasing numbers are seeking to supplement their irregular wage earnings with the produce from subsistence plots of land. There is little of what may be regarded as a genuine movement back to the land, since the economic plight of the farmer is even worse than that of the industrial worker. Another important factor is the closing of the cultural gap between the rural and the city dweller; hard roads, radios, rural schools, rural electrification, automobiles, and so on have raised the cultural level of the farmer to that of the city dweller, eased the former hard conditions of the farmer's life, and removed much of traditional isolation. In short, the entire countryside has been urbanized, and the drift to the city is thereby checked. Some decision, therefore, needs to be made as to the role that decentralization is to play in formulating a housing program.

A second consideration is the question of the commercialization of agriculture. If the agricultural population is to be reduced further to a

mob of wandering seasonal workers and field hands while small holdings are absorbed into larger and larger specialized and mechanized corporately owned farms, the masses of rural workers will require an entirely different character of housing from that of the past. The present program of Federal camps for transient workers indicates something of what might be hoped for at the most for such a population, and the jungle shacks stand in the wastelands at the other extreme. Pending the decision as to whether the masses are to have a stake in the land, however small, no long-range housing programs can be developed to meet their needs.

A third factor of deep cultural import affects housing programs in much more subtle ways. The house is a center for a complex of folkways, and its construction and furnishing have long been basic folk arts, including furniture-making, gardening, care of domestic animals, food preservation, and similar operations. The loss of these arts under the impact of urbanization and increased population mobility has had profound influence upon standards of living, social and personal philosophies, and human personality itself. Specialization may have made certain advantages possible, but the social cost has been high. The house itself is no longer an expression of creative impulses of the owner-builder, an embodiment of moods and sentiments with romantic and idealistic connotations for family, individual, and community life. The house is now not the individualized projection of a unique personality, nor the settled abode of a family spirit, nor the expression of a unique local tradition. Its spiritual barrenness is equalled only by its intrinsic cheapness of materials and workmanship.

On the contrary, the house of the present time is an end product of an industrial process so intricate, complex, and bewildering that no easily understandable description of the factors involved in its construction can be given. Real estate promoter, title and abstract companies, financing company, architect, contractor and subcontractors, a score of labor unions, materials and supply houses of a wide variety, insurance and bonding houses, acting under the supervision of a medley of governmental licensing and inspecting bureaus, co-operate in the building of the modern house. They conspire to make its price so high that it is beyond the financial power of the bulk of the nation's working population either to buy or to rent. This population must continue to live in the cast-off houses of the previous generation, frequently doubled up in wholly inadequate quarters and exposed to serious health, fire, and

moral hazards. To break through this encirclement of vested interests—land, capital, labor and management are all involved—is beyond the power of the masses without the out-and-out aid of the government.

If, however, these interests are not to be challenged or disturbed, housing that will meet the needs of the masses becomes in large measure a problem of public relief. Numerous methods are now employed practically all of which are little more than direct subsidies of one sort or another by which interest charges are reduced below the going rates, speculative risks discounted in ways not open to the private builder, overhead costs eliminated by the use of governmental facilities, or taxes reduced or eliminated for a period. Only by such devices is it possible for rentals or equivalent ownership costs to be brought within the income capacity of the masses, who can allot only about one-fourth of their earnings to housing. For the man who earns forty cents an hour for forty hours per week, this means that only \$15 or \$16 per month is available for housing his entire family. His is the family for which, at long last, housing has become a matter of public welfare if not simply a problem of public relief.

A further consideration in the approach to the housing program is the changing nature of family life. The house is conceived as a family affair, but the family has undergone such radical changes in structure and function that planning the house is a difficult matter. It has come to be more and more a mere shelter where occasional meals are served. It is not the seat of a wide variety of economic, social, and cultural familial activities. Little by little, family functions have been taken elsewhere; food preparation and preservation, child-rearing, care of the sick, entertainment of guests, courtship, weddings and funerals, neighborhood socials, vocational training of the young, care of aged members are all now delegated for better or for worse to other institutions. The declining role of the home as a social institution is at once a cause and an effect of the present inadequacy of the house as such. The lack of proper allocation of responsibilities as between the family on the one hand and factory, school, hotel, theatre, public park, art gallery, hospital, church, funeral chapel, neighborhood house, automobile, home for the aged, juvenile court, and so on makes it difficult to determine a housing program. It may well be that in our haste to provide these modern facilities for common use we failed to foresee the serious repercussions they would have upon the basic social institution—the family. We must, in short, decide how far the housing program can

and should effect the rehabilitation of the family as a social institution.

A still deeper and subtler factor is the concept of what constitutes a satisfactory life. Already it is evident that, despite its size and quality, the flood of values now available in modern city life is failing to provide for basic, essential needs in the masses of the population. For those who have ready access to these values, they mean overstimulation, early satiety, ennui, and neuroticism, and may eventually produce the need for escape to a simpler mode of life. For those debarred in some degree from them by the private property and price systems, these values mean an unwholesome competitive struggle, frustration, defeatism, and social restlessness, if not open revolt. The very struggle to secure these values is liable to lead to impairment of the ability to utilize them, once they are achieved; and success in achieving them may lead only to their abuse. In the nature of the case probably well over ninety per cent of the population, under contemporary conditions, cannot hope to have access to the range of values which the remaining ten per cent of the population enjoy as a matter of course and of legal right. There is, then, urgent need for the development of a new philosophy of life among the masses—analogue perhaps to that of certain peasant groups in Europe—a philosophy that will express itself in a simpler but more satisfying set of values. The chief nucleus for such a set of more widely attainable and more satisfying values is the home, and its physical expression is the house. The implications for sound community and national life need not be elaborated here.

Housing is not simply a matter of family life. It has inevitably to do with neighborhood and community life. Housing programs may involve isolated single homes or entire communities. Problems of social policy will arise with reference to the segregation of racial, cultural, or economic groups, especially with reference to changes in standards of living for backward or subnormal groups; basic questions in community organization will have to be faced and decisions made. Moreover, issues having to do with democratic participation in management will frequently arise. The intake policies for given projects may court or may avoid such issues, but where large masses of the population in the lower-income brackets are to be housed, these groups are liable to lack experienced leadership, their habits and attitudes will need to be adjusted to improved housing, and they will only slowly develop the community machinery necessary for them to realize in large measure upon their new houses.

It is, of course, fatuous to speak of the masses as if they represented a single undifferentiated whole. They, in fact, represent so many races, so varied cultural backgrounds and such different housing needs that no single program can be expected to deal with the whole situation.

Again, research has not yet provided even the simplest formulations as to the interrelations of housing to family, personality, and community. It is clear that whatever decisions are made—explicitly or implicitly—regarding the basic issues we have raised here, will be made in terms of common sense rather than upon soundly tested scientific data. Since the situation is urgent a wide range of experimentation probably should be encouraged. If, then, careful research work can be carried on to study the effects of each type of project upon person and community, little by little scientific direction can be given to the program for housing the masses.

# THE ECOLOGICAL PATTERNING OF TACOMA<sup>1</sup>

MARVIN R. SCHAFER

*College of Puget Sound*

The geographical distribution of social data relative to population characteristics, housing, church membership, and social disorganization exhibit three distinguishable patterns in the city of Tacoma, Washington. In 1940 Tacoma had a population of 109,408 persons with 46,610 more outside the city in the census-defined metropolitan district. Tacoma is not an old city and even in the years of rapid growth due to the lumber industry and the steam railway there was little pressure for space in the city. Furthermore, there have been few restrictions on the territorial expansion of the city. These conditions make Tacoma an interesting city in which to analyze the distribution of social phenomena.

Indexes of population density, mobility, housing vacancy and overcrowding, divorce, and delinquency in general conform to a *concentric pattern* which exhibits high rates in the center of the city and decreasing rates by zones drawn outward from the city center. Although all of these data suggest the same spatial tendency, the patterns vary considerably with the greatest associations between delinquency and mobility ( $r=+.55$ ) and delinquency and vacant domiciles ( $r=+.51$ ).

Indexes for nativity, color, and church membership do not form a concentric pattern but seem to exhibit merely historical or *chance distribution*. The residential location of the foreign-born population is closely associated with affiliation with different church denominations. Italian and Polish residential sections in the industrial areas at the center of the city are also areas of concentration of Catholics; Scandinavian and German groups residing in the southeastern section are predominantly Lutheran; the high-income areas in both the north-end and the south-central districts are mostly Protestant (especially Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Disciples, and Congregational); members of churches which may be designated "cults" (such as Christian Science and Divine Science) concentrate in high-income areas nearest the city center. The Japanese population lives

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<sup>1</sup>Abstract of a part of a study of Tacoma, Washington. More detailed reports are in preparation for publication elsewhere.



near the city center, but the few Negroes are scattered throughout the city.

The *economic-cultural pattern* is characterized by a sharp division between low-income areas in the southern half of the city and the high-income areas in the northern half. Exceptions to this generalization are found in the middle-income level of residents of the high plateau in the southern section and the low-income level of residents in two industrial areas in the north end. Educational level and relief status closely follow the distribution of income. "Income-over-\$2000" shows a positive correlation with "education-over-twelve-years" of  $r=+.86$ ; and this income class is negatively correlated with "relief" ( $r=-.95$ ).

This study of Tacoma suggests that the spatial distribution of social data does not conform to a general pattern for all cities. For Tacoma at least, the distribution of such significant social characteristics as income, nativity, and education can be explained only by the unique history and the local situation of the city.

# MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS SESSION OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Held at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, on December  
27-28, 1940

The business meeting convened at 11:30 A.M., December 28,  
Martin H. Neumeyer presiding.

Robert H. Dann, Vice-President of the Northern Division, reported that no conference was held in the spring. Members of this division were circularized, and the consensus seemed to be that instead of arranging a separate meeting those who could would attend and participate in the sessions of Section K of the American Association for the Advancement of Science convening in Seattle in June. There was no report of the number of members of the Society attending sessions of Section K of A.A.A.S.

J. V. Berreman stated that, because of peculiarities of the geographical distribution of membership of the Society, there are relatively few members in the Central Division. Replies to a letter sent to those people indicated little or no desire to have spring meetings.

Glen E. Carlson reported that the Southern Division held three meetings. An all-day spring session was held at the University of Southern California, May 4. The members of the Southern Division joined Alpha Kappa Delta during the summer for a meeting to hear Doctor Henry Pratt Fairchild. During the fall they cooperated with the Academy of Political and Social Science in holding a session dealing with the employment situation in southern California.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was read and approved. The minutes of the business meeting of 1939 were approved.

President Neumeyer raised the question as to whether members of the Society long in arrears with their dues should be dropped from the list. After brief discussion, it was moved by Marvin Schafer and seconded by Joseph Cohen that the Advisory Council rule on the matter and take action. Motion adopted.

The next business was put in the form of several questions relating to the publication of the *Proceedings*. These were stated as follows:

1. Shall the present contract with the State College of Washington be continued in its present form?

- 2 Shall the Editor of the *Proceedings* be appointed or elected?
3. Should assistants to the Editor be appointed?
4. What price should be set for single numbers of the *Proceedings*?
5. Is it desirable to increase the size of the *Proceedings* at this time?

After very brief discussion Calvin Schmid moved that the incoming President appoint an editorial committee consisting of the Editor and two other members to consider the above questions, and that this committee be given power to act. Seconded by Doctor Schafer. Motion adopted.

President Neumeyer then asked for a ruling as to whether the Society shall have first right to papers, or any parts thereof, presented at the regular meetings of the Society.

Charles N. Reynolds moved that the Editorial Committee have first right to papers, or any part thereof, presented at the meetings. Seconded by Doctor Carlson. Motion adopted.

Two papers prepared for the meetings were sent to be read by others because of inability of the writers to attend.

It was decided that the resolution passed by the Society in its business meeting in 1937 to the effect that papers could not be presented by anyone other than the writer should stand.

There was discussion of the following points as they came from the floor:

- 1 Increasing the number of papers on the program.
- 2 Increasing the number of sessions by splitting into sections or round tables
- 3 The relation of numbers in attendance at the meetings to the number of participants in the formal program (Present policies of institutions concerning help in bearing expenses, and other factors were mentioned.)
- 4 The preparation of manuscripts far enough in advance to enable discussion leaders to have access to them
- 5 Other suggestions which might facilitate presentation and discussion of papers

Out of this discussion came a motion by Doctor Schafer that enough duplicates, in full or in outline, of papers presented be provided by persons presenting them to enable all members in attendance to have a copy prior to or at the time of the meeting. Seconded by Wm. C. Smith. Motion carried.

President Neumeyer extended an invitation to the Society to meet at the University of Southern California in 1941.

It was moved by Doctor Carlson that the invitation be accepted. Seconded by George M. Day Motion adopted.

Doctor Day, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented the following:

1. Whereas, the outgoing officers have performed their duties with commendable faithfulness and ability, the members of the Society present give them a hearty expression of thanks

2. Whereas, the Chairman of the Program Committee has brought his labors to a successful realization, in behalf of the Society the other members of the committee cordially thank Doctor Steiner

The suggestion is respectfully submitted that in the future the program chairman arrange for more leisure for discussion Friday afternoon's session was a demonstration of the profitable use of time made available by the absence of the speaker who was to have presented the second paper

3 Whereas, our hosts have made our visit a pleasurable one—meeting trains, providing splendid quarters, good meals and convenient, well-lighted, and comfortable places for meetings—a hearty vote of thanks be given to all the Stanford people, and especially to J. V. Berreman, Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements

Resolutions adopted.

Doctor Carlson, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented nominations for offices of the Society for the ensuing year:

For President, Jesse F Steiner, University of Washington

For Vice-Presidents:

Northern Division, Wm. C. Smith, Linfield College

Central Division, Richard LaPiere, Stanford University

Southern Division, Erle F. Young, University of Southern California

For Secretary-Treasurer, Paul H Landis, Washington State College

For Members of the Advisory Council, Martin H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California; Robert H Dann, Oregon State College

Doctor Reynolds moved that a unanimous ballot be cast for the nominees. Seconded by Doctor Schmid. Motion adopted.

A telegram from Paul H. Landis, Secretary-Treasurer, who had conferred with officials of the national body at Chicago concerning the refund of dues, was read:

Chicago, Illinois  
December 26, 1940

To Martin H. Neumeyer, President Pacific Sociological Society  
c/o Prof. J. V. Berreman, Stanford University  
Stanford University, California

"Committee on Organization has recommended that National Society continue experiment of refund to Pacific Sociological Society for another year to see if refund increases national membership. If recommendation is passed by Society Sunday we can expect refund of only \$40 to \$60 next year, as refund will be for dues paid by members of both societies, rather than for all members of national Society resident in Pacific territory, as was done this year. Best wishes for a successful conference."

Paul H. Landis, Secretary

Doctor Schafer moved a night letter be sent to the national Society in response to greetings received from that group. Doctor LaPiere seconded the motion. Motion adopted.

Meeting adjourned.

Carl E. Dent, Acting Secretary

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER, 1940

The membership of the Society increased during the current year over 1939, but was lower than for 1937 and 1938. The trend of individual memberships is as follows:

1937 .....	86
1938 .....	93
1939 .....	75
1940 .....	80

Institutional memberships have increased since their initiation in 1937. The trend is as follows:

1937 .....	0
1938 .....	2
1939 .....	7
1940 .....	8

The collection of dues has been a very expensive item. All delinquent members were circularized four times during the year. Personal letters were written to a number of individuals who were new in the region, inviting them to join, and all members of the national Society who reside within the region but who are not members of the

Pacific Sociological Society were by letter given an invitation to join.

We were fortunate in obtaining the \$2.00 refund from the national Society for all members residing within the region. This refund totaled \$110.00. Other collections compare favorably with preceding years. The trend is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1937	.....	\$152.67
1938	.....	165.49
1939	.....	154.00
1940	.....	168.10 plus \$110 refund from the national Society

The *Proceedings* was not issued until July because long negotiations were involved in arriving at the most satisfactory publishing agreement obtainable. After all bids were in, the arrangements with *Research Studies of the State College of Washington* seemed to be the most favorable.

A continuing contract with the organization which can be canceled by either party provides certain features that are especially attractive:

1. *Research Studies* bears the major part of the cost, the ratio being \$100 for the Society and \$160 for *Research Studies*.
2. *Research Studies* publishes approximately 1000 copies of the *Proceedings*. It circulates to its exchange list—libraries, etc.—850 copies without charge to the Society and provides the Society with 125 bound copies. Those who contribute papers to the Society are therefore assured wide distribution of their papers in an established organ of publication.
3. Each contributor is given 25 copies of his paper without charge and can obtain additional reprints at cost.

The contract is published in full on pp. 77-78 of the 1939 *Proceedings*. The distribution of the 1939 *Proceedings* is approximately as follows:

Total copies printed for Society distribution	125
Individual members	80
Institutional members	8
Complimentary copies to people on the program who are not members of the Society	2
Sales, one of which is not yet collected	3
In stock	32

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<sup>1</sup> This summary is of net collections—that is, collections exclusive of receipts and disbursements for *Sociology and Social Research* subscriptions.

A detailed summary of receipts and disbursements follows:

Receipts as of December 1, 1940

Cash on hand, December 1, 1939 .....	\$ 57.41	
80 Individual memberships .....	120.00	
8 Institutional memberships .....	45 00	
10 Subscriptions to <i>Sociology and Social Research</i> .....	20 00	
2 copies of <i>Proceedings</i> .....	1 60	
Refund from American Sociological Society .....	110 00	
Overpayment on dues .....	1.50	
Total Receipts .....		\$355 51
Net Receipts* .....	335 51	

Disbursements as of December 1, 1940

10 Subscriptions to <i>Sociology and Social Research</i> .....	\$ 20 00	
Telegraph charges .....	1.84	
Postage and supplies .....	44.48	
Publication of <i>Proceedings</i> , to <i>Research Studies</i> .....	100 00	
Programs printed .....	17 53	
Refunds for overpayment of dues .....	1 50	
Outstanding checks from 1939 .....	5 00	
Total Disbursements .....		190.35
Balance on hand, December 1, 1940 .....		165.16

\* Excludes subscriptions to *Sociology and Social Research*.

Paul H. Landis, Secretary-Treasurer

June, 1941

# RESEARCH STUDIES

## OF THE

# STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON



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Pullman, Washington



**RESEARCH STUDIES**  
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# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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Volume IX

June, 1941

Number 2

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## STATUS AND TRENDS OF THE RURAL CHURCH IN LINCOLN COUNTY, WASHINGTON

FRED R. YODER  
*Professor of Sociology*

### SCOPE AND METHOD OF STUDY

This article is a report on the status and trends of the rural church in Lincoln County, Washington, and is one of three county-wide studies made during the last four years to ascertain conditions of the rural church in representative sections of the State of Washington.<sup>1</sup> The data of the study were gathered in the fall of 1940. The method of study was a combination of the historical, case, and statistical approaches. The specific information in regard to churches and ministers was obtained by a personal visit and interview with all the ministers in the county except four, who were not available for interviews. The number of ministers interviewed was twenty-four, and the number of churches in which they preached was thirty-six.

In making the survey, the writer learned of twenty church congregations in Lincoln County which had been disbanded in the last twenty years. Most of these congregations were in the open country and in hamlets. Though these abandoned church congregations are cited several times throughout this study as indicating certain church trends in the county, no specific data were gathered concerning them.

### HISTORIC, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Lincoln County is located in the high, rolling plateau region of eastern Washington. It has a general elevation of approximately two thousand feet above sea level. Most of the county originally was prairie, covered with fine bunch grass. The average annual rainfall is around fifteen inches.

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<sup>1</sup> Fred R. Yoder, "Social Adaptation and Lag of the Rural Church in Whitman County, Washington," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, VII (1939), 123-53; and "Status and Trends of the Rural Church in Skagit County, Washington," to be published in this series later

The county was settled chiefly in the two decades from 1880 to 1900.<sup>2</sup> About three-fourths of the original settlers were native Americans and came largely from the East North Central and West North Central states, with a sprinkling from practically all the other geographic provinces of the United States.<sup>3</sup> In 1910, when the population of the county reached its highest peak, about one-fourth of the inhabitants were foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage. The countries most largely represented in the foreign-born population, in ranking order, were Germany, Russia, Canada, England, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Ireland, Scotland, and Norway.<sup>4</sup> The significance of the diverse origin of the population of Lincoln County for this study is that a very large number of churches representing many different religious denominations were brought to the county as rural communities, hamlets, villages, and towns were established.<sup>5</sup>

The population of the county increased from 9,312 in 1890 to 17,539 in 1910, after which it declined to 15,141 in 1920, to 11,876 in 1930, and to 11,361 in 1940.<sup>6</sup> Thus from its peak in 1910, the population has declined by 6,178 persons to 1940, or more than thirty-five per cent. The entire population of the county has always been rural as classified by the United States Census, no town in the county having as many as twenty-five hundred people. Until 1930 no segregation was made by the Census for rural farm and rural nonfarm, but in that year, when this segregation was made, the county showed a rural farm population of 6,416, or fifty-six per cent of the total population of the county, and a rural nonfarm population of 5,460, or forty-four per cent of the total population of the county.

The population living outside the eight incorporated towns in the county decreased from 11,694 in 1910 to 5,842 in 1940, a decrease of almost exactly fifty per cent. The total population in the eight towns decreased twenty per cent from 1910 to 1930, but made a gain of seventeen per cent from 1930 to 1940, probably because of an overflow

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<sup>2</sup> *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country* (Spokane, Washington: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), pp. 66-104.

<sup>3</sup> Carl F. Reuss, "The Pioneers of Lincoln County, Washington, A Study in Migration," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXX (1939), January, pp. 51-65.

<sup>4</sup> *Abstract of the Census with Supplement for Washington* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 598.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929).

<sup>6</sup> Volumes of the *United States Census* on population for 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.

of poulation into several towns from the Coulee Dam area, where there has been a concentration of population during the last eight years.<sup>7</sup> The decrease in the open-country, hamlet, and village population of the county has been due largely to changes in agriculture in the county.

In the first few years of settlement, Lincoln County was largely devoted to grazing horses, cattle, and sheep. Since 1900, however, agriculture has shifted to wheat farming, and today the county is one of the largest wheat-producing counties in the United States. The extensive production of wheat by heavy machinery has resulted in a gradual increase in the average size of farms. In 1900 the average size of farms was 473 acres, in 1910, 565 acres, in 1920, 714 acres, in 1930, 906 acres; and in 1935, 929 acres.<sup>8</sup> From these figures it may be seen that the average size of farms nearly doubled in thirty-five years. From 1900 to 1935 the percentage of total farms under five hundred acres decreased from seventy-three to thirty-five, whereas the percentage of total farms over five hundred acres increased from twenty-seven to sixty-five.<sup>9</sup> As farm has been added to farm, many rural families have left the county, and hamlets, villages, and towns have also lost population as the demand for goods and services has decreased.

The average Lincoln County farmer operates on a large scale. The size of his enterprise is shown by the average value of all farm property, which in 1930 was \$29,492, as compared with \$12,522 for the State of Washington, \$20,629 for the Pacific Division, and \$9,103 for the entire United States.<sup>10</sup> The relatively high economic status of Lincoln County farmers is also shown by the percentage of farmers in the county having modern conveniences. In 1930, 84.4 per cent had automobiles, 71.4 per cent had telephones, and 61.2 per cent had water piped into dwellings.<sup>11</sup>

Farm tenancy has gradually increased in the county since 1900. The percentage of farmers who were owners decreased from 87.5 in 1900 to 59.9 in 1930, whereas the percentage who were tenants increased from 11.3 in 1900 to 39.1 in 1930.<sup>12</sup> Many of the landlords of

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<sup>7</sup> Volumes of the *United States Census* on population of towns and cities for 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.

<sup>8</sup> Volumes of the *United States Census* on agriculture for 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1935.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

the tenant farms have moved into the small towns in the county or to cities outside the county, especially to Spokane.

A recent development in the county has been the rather rapid growth of the Grange. Whereas there were only six local Granges with 218 members in 1921, there were fifteen local Granges with 1740 members in 1940<sup>13</sup>

#### PIONEER CHURCHES

In Lincoln County the rural churches are scarcely a generation removed from pioneer conditions. The pioneer pattern of religious development in Lincoln County has been quite similar to that followed in other prairie regions of the United States.<sup>14</sup> When the land was opened for settlement, pioneers rushed in from all parts of the county, and an excessive number of churches representing many denominations were established. The origin and growth of churches in the pioneer communities was usually as follows: (1) a few families would gather at the home of a settler where they sang and prayed together, listened to the reading of the Scriptures, and perhaps heard sermons preached by a layman or a traveling minister who toured the settlements as a circuit rider, (2) Sunday Schools and preaching services were held in schoolhouses, and many home mission points were established by the different denominations; (3) finally, congregations were organized and church buildings erected, the various denominational home mission boards taking the lead in establishing the churches and contributing to their support.<sup>15</sup> There was keen rivalry among the different denominations in organizing churches and getting church members. The first religious census of the county, made in 1890, showed thirty-two religious organizations or congregations in the county, fourteen having church edifices and eighteen holding services in "preaching halls."<sup>16</sup>

In a county history published in 1904, a list of all the churches in the towns, villages, and hamlets of the county is given. At that time the town of Davenport with a population of 1,000 had eight churches;

<sup>13</sup> Washington State Grange, *Proceedings* for 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935, and 1940 (Seattle, Washington: Grange Cooperative Printing Association).

<sup>14</sup> Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier 1854-90* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), Chap XXIV; *Vanguards of the Frontier* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), Chap V; and Helen O. Belknap, *The Church on the Changing Frontier* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922).

<sup>15</sup> Author's manuscript, Pioneer Social Adaptation in Lincoln County, Washington 1880-1900, section on the pioneer church.

<sup>16</sup> *Report of Statistics of Churches, Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 86.

Wilbur with a population of 595 had seven churches; Odessa with a population of 500 had five churches; Harrington with a population of 500 had four churches; Creston with a population of 300 had five churches. Each of the smaller unincorporated villages had two or three churches, and almost every hamlet and cross-road had a church.<sup>17</sup>

Table I shows the church membership by different denominations in the county from 1906 to 1926.<sup>18</sup> According to these figures, the Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and "all other bodies" had losses during the period covered by the figures, whereas the Congregationalists and Lutherans had gains,

Table I. Church Membership by Denominations in Lincoln County, Washington, 1906-26

	1926	1916	1906
Population (total)*	15,141	17,539	11,969
Percentage of population church member†	28.1	27.2	34.6
Members of all denominations	4,258	4,778	4,137
Baptist (Northern)	35	129	361
Congregational	632	455	181
Disciples of Christ	209	368	75
Evangelical Association	186	133	—
Lutheran (total)	860	644	108
Methodist	352	734	560
Free Methodist	—	16	—
Presbyterian	569	664	504
Episcopal (Protestant)	19	10	50
Roman Catholic	1,125	1,390	1,207
All Other Bodies	149	235	1,091
Federated Churches	122	—	—

\* Population for decennial year preceding each religious census

† Ratio to immediately preceding census—1920, 1910, 1900, respectively

and several federated churches made their appearance. Several other denominations have come into the county since 1926.

Of the thirty-six churches studied in the survey, eight were Lutheran, six Methodist, five Congregational, four Catholic, three Evangelical, two Disciples of Christ, two Federated, one Nazarene, and one Pentecostal. At the time the study was in progress, attempts were being made to establish two other Pentecostal congregations.

<sup>17</sup> *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country*, pp. 145-88.

<sup>18</sup> Compiled from *Religious Bodies* of the United States Census for 1906, 1916, and 1926.

## CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Of the thirty-six churches studied, only three were located in the open country. As already stated above, twenty churches had been abandoned in the last two decades, practically all of them in the open country and hamlets. The thirty-six churches studied had an average membership of 80, but a median membership (the middle figure in a whole series of figures arranged in order from lowest to highest) of only 50. The range in membership in all the churches was from 7 to 255. One-third of the churches had a membership of less than 40, another third between 40 and 80, and the final third between 80 and 255. Fifty-eight per cent of the membership in the thirty-six churches was from the open country, and 42 per cent from the towns and villages.

With the subtraction of losses from gains in the churches over a two-year period, all these churches combined showed an annual increase of 0.4 of a member per church. Over the five-year period 1935-40, nineteen churches reported their membership increasing, nine decreasing, and eight stationary. Because it has been thought by some students of the rural church that the decline in open country and hamlet churches has been caused by farm people moving their church membership to town and village churches,<sup>19</sup> inquiry was made in this study as to what extent town and village churches had received members from country churches within their respective areas during the five-year period from 1935 to 1940. Only four town and village churches reported that they had received members from open-country and hamlet churches. These four churches had received 64 or an average of 16 each from such churches. The facts of church membership in Lincoln County show that, though there has been a rather small movement of open-country and hamlet church members to towns and villages, this fact accounts only in small part for the abandonment of many open-country and hamlet churches.

The weakness and the precarious existence of rural churches with small memberships has long been pointed out by rural sociologists and rural church leaders.<sup>20</sup> Two-thirds of the rural churches of Lincoln

<sup>19</sup> E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), pp. 209-18; H. N. Morse and E. deS. Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923), and Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940), pp. 381-85.

<sup>20</sup> See especially Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), pp. 447-68; J. H. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), pp. 409-14.

County have memberships too small to build and equip churches and to support ministers and church programs that meet modern standards of rural church work. In one town of about 1,000 people in Lincoln County were found four small struggling churches of the same general religious faith, and in another town of about 800 people three churches of the same general religious faith. In still another town of about 1,300 people two newly arrived ministers of the same faith were sharply competing for the same small class of people to whom the emotional type of religion of these ministers was directed.

#### THE PROGRAM OF THE CHURCHES

The functions and services of a church to a community are perhaps best judged by the program of the church. Churches live and make themselves felt in a community through their varied activities.

Of the thirty-six churches, twenty-four had preaching services at least weekly, eight semi-weekly, two monthly, and one daily. Twenty-six of the churches had full-time pastors, and ten had half-time pastors. Nineteen of the churches did not hold revivals, seventeen did, and one minister reported that his church held "a revival all the time."

Thirty-three of the thirty-six churches had Sunday Schools, with a median enrollment and attendance of 42 and 35, respectively. Over a five-year period, nineteen churches reported Sunday School gains, four losses, and thirteen neither gains nor losses. Several ministers stated that getting Sunday School teachers was one of the most difficult problems of the churches.

Twenty-one of the thirty-six had young people's Christian organizations with a median enrollment of 20. Fifteen of the churches had no organizations of this kind for older adolescents. None of the thirty-six churches sponsored any secular organizations for the younger adolescents in the early teen-ages. Sixteen of the thirty-six churches had vacation Bible schools, with a median enrollment of 20. One of the chief weaknesses of a number of the churches appears to be their inability to reach the older adolescent group. A rather general complaint among the ministers was that young people were indifferent to the church.

The churches made their best showing in their women's aid societies. Twenty-seven of the thirty-six churches had such societies, with a median membership of 35. None of the churches, however, had men's brotherhoods. This complete lack of men's brotherhoods is prob-



ably another source of rural church weakness. Strong men's brotherhoods in churches have been of great assistance in maintaining a vital interest in church work and in supporting the church financially.

In one congregation which was just being organized, the minister, who was preaching in a tent, reported that he had "a very wide practice" in divine healing, people "hearing about my work far away" and coming "150 and 200 miles to get healed." On being asked what his salary was, this minister replied that he was not "getting anything except the stuff that people brought in." But he added that an auto mechanic coming to his church was expecting an increase of \$10 a month in salary and, on getting this raise, would contribute it to the minister's salary.

Another minister of practically the same faith who had just arrived in another town and was still living in a tent and auto trailer stated that he "was looking for an old church to get started preaching." He explained to the writer that he had not come into town "to take people away from the other churches." He had estimated that, in this town of about 1,000 people (and incidentally, five other churches were there already), there were 150 people and especially children not being reached by the other churches, and he stated that he had come to this town "to try to reach them."

In a third town with something over 500 people and four long-established churches, another minister reported that his church—the fifth in the community—had been established two years previously for "those folks who do not feel at home among the people in the other churches." This minister complained that there was "much prejudice against his church from the well-to-do" and that other "denominations think my church is here to break them up." But he earnestly vowed that his church was "called in" by the people he was serving because of a "need for it," and he further contended that churches cannot do much unionizing "because people belong to different classes and have different ideas and ways of thinking," and, therefore, "some denominations must make one kind of appeal to their people and other denominations must make a different kind of appeal to their people."

Here in these three towns were observed in operation several well-known principles in the sociology of religion. It has been pointed out by a number of writers that the poor and the dispossessed demand an essentially other-worldly religion which compensates for their lack of

goods, comforts, and services in this world.<sup>21</sup> Retired Lincoln County farmers with their thousand-acre farms may be quite content with their rents and residence in second-rate hotels in Spokane, where they might wish to live forever; but many of the aging harvest hands and the village laborers who approach the age of sixty-five with nothing are compelled to think of other-worldly compensations for their discomforts in a world of sweat and toil. The poor who cannot purchase medical services at rates stipulated by the American Medical Association naturally turn to divine healers, whose services can be had for a pittance or nothing.

When the people "across the tracks" do not feel at home in their church associations with the other, more prosperous and financially substantial people, they segregate into sects that afford more congeniality. The church has always been an organization for fellowship as well as for religious worship. The Christian brotherhood principle probably works more effectively within social class lines than many Christian leaders would like to admit.

#### CHURCH EQUIPMENT

Thirty-three of the thirty-six congregations had church buildings with a median value of \$3,000. The range in value for all the thirty-three church buildings was from \$50 to \$40,000. One third of the churches were valued under \$2,500, a second third between \$2,500 and \$5,000, and the highest third above \$5,000. Twenty-two of the churches had kitchens and dining rooms for congregational dinners, whereas eleven were without this equipment. The survey showed that it was usually the smallest and weakest churches which were lacking in this equipment.

The average value of the thirty-three rural church buildings in 1940 was \$5,495, as compared with an average value in 1926 of \$6,841 for rural churches of the Pacific Division, of \$5,109 for those of the State of Washington, and \$6,198 for those of the United States as a whole.

Twenty-four of the thirty-six congregations owned twenty-two parsonages alone or jointly with other congregations. The median value of the twenty-two parsonages owned was \$1,900. The range in value of the twenty-two parsonages was from \$25 to \$4,000, with half

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<sup>21</sup> R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, 2nd ed. rev. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940); Richard Niebuhr, *op cit*, Chaps. II, III, and VIII.

of them under \$2,000 and the other half above this amount. The fact that twelve of the congregations were unable to supply parsonages alone or in part for their ministers was evidence of the low financial status of these churches

In church property and equipment a majority of the rural churches in Lincoln County fall considerably below the "New Par-Standard" set by the rural church experts for measuring the adequacy of rural church equipment <sup>22</sup>

#### CHURCH FINANCES

One test of a people's loyalty to a religion is what they are willing to pay for it. The median budget of the thirty-six churches was \$988, with a range from \$60 to \$3,500. One-third of the churches had total budgets under \$700, a second third from \$700 to \$1,400 and the highest third above \$1,400. The largest item in the average church budget was usually the salary paid the minister. The median pastoral salary paid by the thirty-six churches was \$535, with a range from \$60 to \$1,700. One-third of the churches paid salaries of less than \$400, a second third from \$400 to \$1,000, and the highest third above \$1,000. Because nine ministers received salaries from two churches each, however, the median salary received by the twenty-four pastors was \$1,200, with a range from \$300 to \$1,700. Eight of the pastors received less than \$1,000, eight from \$1,000 to \$1,300, and eight above \$1,300.

The median expense for maintenance was \$130, and for benevolences \$130. Four churches had incurred building expenses in 1940 averaging \$794 per church. Eight of the thirty-six churches received assistance from home mission boards averaging \$205 per church. The average contribution per church member from all the churches in 1940 was \$15.

#### THE MINISTERS

The minister very largely makes the church. Twenty-four ministers served thirty-six churches in Lincoln County, fifteen of them one church each, and nine of them two churches each. The average age of ministers was 44, with 17 years preaching experience, and 3 years in their present positions. They had attended college 3.8 years and seminary 3 years. Only two of the twenty-four ministers had not attended college—one of these having finished the eighth grade and the other having attended high school a year and a half. Eleven held the B.A.

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<sup>22</sup>See Par-Standard for the Rural Church, below (Appendix)

degree, and nine the B.D. degree. Ten of the ministers were members of the local chamber of commerce, two were Grangers, one a Kiwanian, and one a Legionnaire. The majority of the ministers had no contacts with secular organizations in their communities.

Reading or lack of reading makes the minister to a considerable degree. All the pastors read religious papers, the number read ranging from 1 to 10, with an average of 4.6. Only one minister did not read a daily paper, and four read 2 dailies each. All except two read a local weekly paper. All but four read secular magazines, and the average was 1.7 per minister. The *Readers' Digest* was the favorite secular magazine, with *Time*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *American* following in order. Only three of the ministers read farm papers, though 56 per cent of the church membership in the county came from farms.

The minds and interests of clergymen are also revealed to a large extent by the kinds of books they read. Types of new books that had been read within a year by the twenty-four ministers, in the order of the number of ministers reading them, was as follows:

- 1 Religious, theological, and doctrinal, by 23 ministers with an average of 6 each
- 2 Ethical and personal living, by 12 ministers, with an average of 2.8 each
- 3 Biography, by 9 ministers, with an average of 1.5 each
- 4 Fiction, by 7 ministers, with an average of 3.5 each
- 5 Social problems, by 6 ministers, with an average of 2.3 each
- 6 The country church, by 6 ministers, with an average of 1.3 each
- 7 Psychology, by 4 ministers, with an average of 3.6 each
- 8 History, by 2 ministers, 1 book each
- 9 Science, by 2 ministers, 1 book each

The pastors were asked what kind of topics they emphasized in their sermons. Of 68 topics mentioned by the twenty-four ministers, 37 or more than half were doctrinal, 13 religio-ethical, 11 socio-religious, and 7 miscellaneous.

For thirty years rural sociologists and rural church experts have been pointing out the evils of excessive overchurched in rural communities and the need of greater cooperation and even church union among rural churches. Asked their attitudes on rural church cooperation, seventeen ministers answered that they favored greater cooperation, five that they opposed such steps, and two that they were un-

certain. Fifteen were in favor of church union, whereas nine stated that they positively opposed any such moves.

The ministers were asked what were the most difficult church problems confronting them. Eight, or one-third, could not think of any difficult problems bothering them. Of 62 problems mentioned by the other pastors, 24 concerned indifference of people to religion or failure to attend church. Typical statements in the ministers' own words were: "So many other things take the people's attention today." "Lack of any real spirituality among church members." "Getting the interest of young people." "The teaching of infidelity in the colleges and universities." "Upholding the former emphasis on sin and getting the people to listen."

Four ministers found raising budgets their most difficult problem; three experienced their chief difficulty in getting adequate choirs; three were harassed by competing churches of the same faith in their own towns; three could not find lay leaders for the work of the church; two felt their biggest problem was in finding ways to reach "the lowly and dispossessed."

Problems listed by one minister each were: "Prejudice of the people against the ——— church." "Getting other churches to co-operate in evangelism." "Keeping church members from joining the Grange" (a secret order). "Keeping church members from joining lodges." "Mixed marriages." "Getting the young people from farms for Christian Endeavor meetings." "The language problem" (whether to preach in a foreign language or in English).

Asked their solutions for some of the difficult problems of the church the ministers gave a variety of answers. Twelve had no solutions to suggest. Nine suggested some kind of church union or consolidation of churches as the best solution of their church problems. Five stressed the need of pastors putting greater emphasis on the "spiritual life" of the church, one of this group saying, "The church must Christianize, teach, baptize, and witness"; and another, "The minister must teach the people that the church should come first and not be the last thing people think about, as it is now." Two ministers suggested rural sociological solutions—one, "a special study of the rural church by ministers," and the other, "the recognition of the rural church as an integral part of rural culture." One pastor proposed some kind of church equalization fund for rural ministers, so that "they could own cars and care for their families decently." Other suggestions were:

"Special appeal to young people through music and contests." "Fewer one-man-power churches." "Improvement of the physical grounds and property of the church." One minister suggested as his solution, "Put no strings on anybody for shouting."

#### AN INTERPRETATION

Scarcely a church in Lincoln County meets the requirements of the New Par-Standard set up by the rural church experts a few years ago.<sup>28</sup> If scored on the fifty points of this standard, most of the churches would make less than a 50 per cent score. As already pointed out, one-third of the churches in the county have been abandoned in the last twenty years. Probably half of the forty churches now in existence are in a feeble and precarious condition. The membership in most of the churches is too small to support strong churches. The ministers in at least half the churches frankly admit their inability to get the people sufficiently interested in the churches to make them strong and growing institutions.

As a causal explanation of the rural church situation in Lincoln County, the writer offers some facts and supplements these with some opinions.

1. The disappearance of many rural churches and the weak condition of others have undoubtedly been due in part to the declining rural population that has come as a result of machinery and the enlargement of farms. All church studies have shown that when the rural population begins to decline, the rural church is one of the first social institutions to begin to feel the effects of this decline.

2. Increase in farm tenancy has also been found to be a causal factor in rural church decline. Many tenants have short residences in communities. Studies show that when farm tenancy reaches 25 per cent and beyond, the rural church begins to lose in membership. Tenancy in Lincoln County has now reached 40 per cent.

3. The automobile carries people on Sunday beyond the open-country and hamlet church, but we must hasten to say not all of them to town and village churches. The facts in Lincoln County do not bear out the theory that open-country churches have declined primarily because many country people moved their church membership to town as the automobile has come into extensive use. A few farmers make

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<sup>28</sup> See Appendix.

such transfers, but many more seem to spend their Sundays visiting, joy-riding, picnicking, going to movies, and taking in other events. This is particularly true of the younger people

4. The competition of other forms of association seems to be a factor in rural church decline. In the last twenty years the number of local Granges in Lincoln County has more than doubled, and Grange membership has increased eight times. Four abandoned country churches have been converted into Grange halls.

5. Frontier communities of the Far West have always had notoriously low church-membership rates. Lincoln County was still in its frontier stage of development when all the factors explained above began to operate. A conjuncture of low church membership in the county with large-scale farming, increased tenancy, auto travel, and the rise of new secular attractions has weakened and destroyed many rural churches.

6. Excessive sectarianism and overchurching have left weak and declining rural churches in its wake in Lincoln County. The native American population came from many states, both North and South, and the foreign population from a dozen countries. Each native and foreign group organized its own special type of congregation. In small towns were found three and four churches of the same basic denomination, none of these churches with enough members to maintain strong churches. A major rural church problem is that of how to effect union between weak churches in the same community.

7. A great deal has been said by some rural sociologists during the last two decades about the decline of religious beliefs among farmers, due to the diffusion of the teaching of the natural and social sciences. So far as the writer knows, however, no rural sociologists have undertaken to find out scientifically what rural religious beliefs are. It is unlikely that many rural people have substituted naturalistic for theistic beliefs. Undoubtedly many of the older religious beliefs have been greatly modified, but it would appear that the great majority of rural people still hold some kind of religious belief. They perhaps care little today for dogmas and sectarian creeds.

8. Hence it is possible that many rural ministers are not thinking and preaching in terms of those major, dynamic interests of rural people which would enable them to tap basic religious interests. It seemed to the writer, as he studied churches in Lincoln County and

came in contact with various types of laymen, that they were thinking about and discussing very few of the things which the ministers were preaching about in the pulpit. Probably the rural churches of Lincoln County could tie in much more effectively with the life of the people in the open country and in the small towns, if more attention were given to the vital economic, social, ethical, political, and international problems of the day. The social and ethical phases of Christianity afford an excellent basis for this kind of church program.<sup>24</sup>

## Appendix<sup>25</sup>

### NEW PAR-STANDARD FOR THE RURAL CHURCH

#### *Physical Equipment*

- 1 A comfortable, attractive parsonage with modern improvements furnished rent free
- 2 Auditorium with seating capacity adequate to maximum attendance at regular services
- 3 Pipe organ or piano
4. Space for social and recreational purposes fitted with movable chairs and a platform, and large enough for the largest crowds in the habit of assembling there
- 5 Separate rooms or curtained spaces for Sunday School classes or departments
6. Moving-picture machine or stereopticon facilities
- 7 A well-planned, well-equipped kitchen
8. Sanitary lavatories
- 9 Parking space for automobiles or horsesheds
- 10 All property kept in good repair and sightly condition
- 11 Bulletin boards for display of church announcements
- 12 Playground.
13. Recreational equipment—games, volleyball, croquet, quoits (indoor and outdoor) and the like

#### *Religious and Missionary*

- 14 Sunday school maintained throughout the year
15. Sunday school enrollment at least equal to church membership, with an average attendance of at least two-thirds of its membership
16. Definite and regular attempts to bring pupils into church membership, and specific instruction in preparation therefor.
- 17 Teacher training or normal class regularly provided.
- 18 Definite provision for enlistment and training of leaders for church and community work other than in Sunday school

<sup>24</sup> Matthew, Chaps. 5-7

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Carl C Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (New York Harper and Brothers, 1933), pp. 479-81.



19. Communicant classes regularly held in preparation for church membership.
20. Week-day religious instruction provided
21. Daily Vacation Bible School held
22. School of Missions, or systematic Mission Study class regularly held.
23. The missionary work of the church regularly presented from the pulpit and in the Sunday school.
24. At least one representative in professional Christian service.

*Finance*

25. The church budget, including both local expenses and benevolences, adopted annually by the congregation.
26. Every-member canvass for weekly offerings made annually on the basis of the local and benevolent budget adopted; all church members and adherents canvassed; envelope system used
27. The budget of benevolences either meeting the denominational apportionment in full or equal to one-third of the current expense budget (Interchurch standard 25 per cent).
28. All current bills paid monthly.
29. A systematic plan of payments on principal and interest of debt on the church property, if any.
30. Property insured.

*Pastor*

31. A pastor resident within the bounds of the community.
32. A pastor giving full time to the work of this church.
33. The pastor receiving a total salary of at least \$1,500 a year and free use of house (Interchurch figure \$1,200)

*Program*

34. At least one service of worship every Sunday
35. Regular mid-week services
36. Church works systematically to extend its parish to limits of community
37. Church works systematically to serve all occupational classes in the community and all racial elements which do not have their own Protestant churches
38. A definite program setting goals for the year's work adopted annually by the officers and congregation and held steadily before the attention of the church
39. A definite assumption of responsibility with respect to some part of this program (as in 38) by at least 52 per cent of the active members.
40. Systematic evangelism aimed to reach the entire community and every class in the community.
41. A minimum net membership increase of 10 per cent each year.
42. Community service a definite part of the church's work, including a definite program of community cooperation led by or participated in by the church

43. Definite organized activities for all the various age and sex groups in the congregation and community (as in Young People's Society, Men's Brotherhood, Boy Scouts, or similar efforts).
44. A systematic and cumulative survey of the parish with a view to determining the church relationships and religious needs of every family, and such a mapping of the parish as will show the relationships of each family to local religious institutions together with a continuous and cumulative study of the social, moral, and economic forces of the community with a view to constant adaptation of program to need

*Cooperation*

45. Cooperation with other churches of the community in a definite program for community betterment
46. Cooperation with state and county interdenominational religious agencies.
47. Cooperation with local community organizations
48. Cooperation with county, state, or national welfare agencies
49. Cooperation with local and county agricultural agencies
50. Cooperation with denominational boards

## THE PROTOTYPE OF THE POET IN "THE GREAT STONE FACE"

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The aim of this paper is to show that Hawthorne probably used Wordsworth as the prototype of the Poet in "The Great Stone Face." In support of this thesis there is a quantity of evidence, both external and internal; and although no detail taken alone is convincing (coincidence could satisfactorily explain the presence of any one), the mass offers fairly convincing proof. In setting it forth, I shall consider first the external and secondly the internal evidence. First it will be useful to recall the narrative

The Great Stone Face is a work of nature formed on the side of a mountain by immense rocks, which when viewed from a distance resemble the features of a human countenance. A legend which has grown up around it foretold that a child would be born, destined to become the greatest and noblest personage of his time, whose countenance in manhood should bear an exact resemblance to the Great Stone Face. From the time he was a young boy Ernest has been much impressed by the prophecy. His greatest hope is that he may live to see the man whose countenance resembles the features on the rock. There returns to the valley a man who had gone away years before and whose features, it is rumored, resemble the Great Stone Face. His name is Gathergold, and he has become very rich. He builds an elaborate mansion, and many people see in his face the image of the Great Stone Face. But Ernest knows it is not there. Another native son returns. He had gone away to become a great general. Though the people see again in Old Blood-and-Thunder the features of the Great Stone Face, Ernest knows there is no resemblance. A third man returns. Old Stony Phiz had gone away to become an illustrious statesman. Again the people hail him as the likeness; again Ernest is disappointed. At last a poet comes. He has written great poetry, but he has lived among poor and mean realities. He alone among the four who have been hailed as the resemblance knows that he is not the great and noble personage Ernest awaits. At sunset, as had been his custom, Ernest addresses a gathering of the neighboring inhabitants. They see that he is the likeness of the Great Stone Face.

The external evidence that Hawthorne probably used Wordsworth as the prototype of the Poet consists of four facts, one of which is supported by five additional facts

1. Hawthorne's *Journals* and *Notebooks*, and the books by his son, offer ample evidence of his interest in Wordsworth. In June, 1855, during a stay in England, Hawthorne journeyed to the Lake country. Julian Hawthorne's description of the excursion indicates the esteem in which his father held Wordsworth.<sup>1</sup> Similar references, all complimentary to Wordsworth, are found in the *Notebooks* and *Journals*.<sup>2</sup>

2. Hawthorne's attitude toward Wordsworth and his attitude toward the Poet are similar. He treats both with great respect.

3. A more important sort of evidence is that Hawthorne knew Wordsworth's poetry well and was in the habit of quoting from it just such phrases as he uses to describe his Poet in "The Great Stone Face." During the trip to the Wordsworth country, referred to above, Hawthorne had an encounter which gives evidence, though somewhat negatively, that he was familiar with Wordsworth's poetry. Entering the church which contains the poet's monument, the party met a woman who inquired whether they would like to see the monument. They talked of Wordsworth: "The woman said that she had known him very well, and that he had made some verses on a sister of hers. She repeated the first lines, something about a lamb, but neither S— nor I remembered them."<sup>3</sup>

That Hawthorne knew Wordsworth's poetry and was somewhat influenced by it has been pointed out by a well-known Hawthorne scholar, Randall Stewart. In his edition of the *American Notebooks*, Doctor Stewart points out several Wordsworthian echoes. Of the theme of the unfinished *Dolliver Romance*, he writes: "What Hawthorne would have made of *The Dolliver Romance*, one can only conjecture; the Wordsworthian suggestion in the memorandum, that the old man when transformed into a child would discover some secret which he had lost upon reaching maturity, might or might not have been carried out, if he had completed the story."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1884), II, 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Complete Works*, ed. George Parsons Lathrop (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1882-1904), VIII, 25. This part of the *Journal* is omitted from Newton Arvin's edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 34. The poem may be "The Pet Lamb." (William Wordsworth, *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Andrew J. George [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904], pp. 245-47). If so, Wordsworth's note, attached to the poem, is interesting and appropos.

<sup>4</sup> Randall Stewart, ed., *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), p. lxxxviii. Many of the Hawthorne references to Wordsworth are to the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," and it

The Hawthorne memorandum here referred to contains the words "childish eyes."<sup>8</sup> Stewart's footnote to these words reads: "There is a suggestion here of the influence of Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*."<sup>9</sup>

Another Wordsworthian reference in the *American Notebooks*, which Stewart also footnotes, is important because it is dated 1848, the year "The Great Stone Face" was probably written.<sup>7</sup> Most of the passage is a somewhat sentimental description of the author's two children. It contains this passage: "Julian now falls into a reverie, for a little space—his mind seeming far away, lost in reminiscences; but what can they be about? Recollections of a pre-existence"<sup>8</sup> Stewart's footnote reads: "Hawthorne probably had in mind Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*."<sup>9</sup>

In the same footnote Stewart gives further evidence of the Hawthornes' familiarity with Wordsworth's poetry and Mrs Hawthorne's habit of quoting just such phrases as appear in her husband's description of the Poet. The footnote just quoted from continues as follows: "Mrs. Hawthorne quotes from this poem in her letters and journals: Julian she apostrophizes as 'Thou eye among the blind' (*Ode*, l. 111; *Memories*, p. 172), her husband is 'the light of all our seeing' (*Ode*, l. 152, entry in the notebook for August 30, 1852)."<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Stewart points out one more Wordsworthian similarity. In his treatment of Rappaccini (in "Rappaccini's Daughter"), Hawthorne expresses the distrust of the scientist which Wordsworth had given voice to in "A Poet's Epitaph" The scientist is

One that would peep and botanize  
Upon his mother's grave"<sup>11</sup>

In *Septimus Felton* Hawthorne refers again to these lines.<sup>12</sup>

4. As a final bit of external evidence to support the thesis that

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is to this poem that many of the references in "The Great Stone Face" are applicable

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. lxxxvii

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. xcvi

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Lathrop Chandler, *A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853*, "Smith College Studies in Modern Languages," Vol VII, No. 4 (July, 1926), 63 Miss Chandler gives 1848 as the "probable or certain date of composition." (*Ibid*)

<sup>10</sup> Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 324

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114, ll. 19-20.

<sup>14</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, XI, 291

Wordsworth is the prototype of the poet in "The Great Stone Face" there is this: Two other characters in the story have been identified with historical persons. Thus there is a precedent for identification of the characters. Says Elizabeth Chandler: "It is generally believed that the character of Ernest is Hawthorne's tribute to Emerson."<sup>18</sup> Julian Hawthorne tells us that the prototype of Old Stony Phiz was Webster.<sup>14</sup>

The internal evidence that Wordsworth is the prototype of the poet is of two sorts: (1) similarities in the themes which Wordsworth used and those which Hawthorne ascribes to his poet; (2) similarities in diction and phrasing common to Wordsworth's poetry and Hawthorne's description of his poet. Of these the first are the more striking. I shall enumerate these first and take them up in the order in which they appear in the story.

5 "Often . . . did the mountains which had been familiar to him in his childhood lift their snowy peaks into the clear atmosphere of his poetry."<sup>15</sup>

That mountains had been familiar to Wordsworth from childhood we know from the *Prelude* and from the geography of the North Country in which he grew up. His fondness for mountain peaks is evident from a number of descriptions of them in the *Prelude*. The following, by no means all, are perhaps the most famous. Skiddaw,<sup>16</sup> the Alps,<sup>17</sup> Helvellyn,<sup>18</sup> and Snowden.<sup>19</sup>

6. "Neither was the Great Stone Face forgotten, for the poet had celebrated it in an ode, which was grand enough to have been uttered by its own majestic lips."<sup>20</sup>

Hawthorne's choice of ode would mean little except that we know he was particularly impressed by the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality."<sup>21</sup>

7 "This man of genius . . . had come down from heaven with wonderful endowments."<sup>22</sup>

Not only does this sentence follow the one quoted in point 2 (which contains the word *ode*), but also it is a statement of the theme

<sup>14</sup> Chandler, *op cit*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I, 476-478.

<sup>16</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 432.

<sup>17</sup> Wordsworth, *op cit*, *Prelude*, Book I, Lines 294-297.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, Bk. VI, ll. 621-640.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, Bk. VIII, ll. 1-17.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, Bk. XIV, ll. 1-62.

<sup>21</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 432.

<sup>22</sup> See points 15, 16, 17, below, and point 3, above.

<sup>23</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 432.

of the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," although Hawthorne does not develop the theme as Wordsworth does.

8. "If he sang of a mountain . . ." <sup>28</sup>

Descriptions of mountains are mentioned above. Two poems wherein Wordsworth sang of mountains are "Yes, It Was a Mountain Echo" <sup>29</sup> and "To —, on Her First Ascent of Helvellyn." <sup>30</sup>

9. "If his theme were a lovely lake . . ." <sup>31</sup>

Brief descriptions of lakes are common in Wordsworth's poetry. They are especially notable because Wordsworth attributed to them, as well as to other forms of nature, special powers. In "To a Highland Girl" the sight of the girl, the cabin, the lake, and the waterfall is one which, having been seen, will remain always in the poet's inner eye. <sup>32</sup> Thus the description of the lake is more than prettified description and has a philosophical significance likely to impress such a careful reader as Hawthorne. A famous Wordsworthian description of a lake appears in the first part of the *Prelude*. <sup>33</sup> It is interesting too because it includes a description of a mountain: beyond the lake "a huge peak upreared its head." <sup>34</sup>

10. "If he sang of a mountain, the eyes of all mankind beheld a mightier grandeur reposing on its breast, or soaring to its summit, than had before been seen there. If his theme were a lovely lake, a celestial smile had now been thrown over it, to gleam forever on its surface." <sup>35</sup>

This passage as a whole can be interpreted as a tribute to Wordsworth's success in accomplishing the purpose which he set for himself in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*; i.e., to tear the film of familiarity from common things and to throw over them a certain coloring of the imagination. This purpose is implicit in most of Wordsworth's poetry; the theory of it is perhaps most explicitly stated by Coleridge in a well-known passage in *Biographia Literaria*. <sup>36</sup>

In addition to being a statement of what Wordsworth tried to do in poetry, the lines quoted in point 10 recall the theme and diction

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-346.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

<sup>31</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, III, 432.

<sup>32</sup> Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, *Prelude*, Bk. I, ll. 357-390.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 378-380.

<sup>35</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, III, 432.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1907), II, 5-6.

of one of Wordsworth's poems, the "Elegiac Stanzas Suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle." Had he described Peele Castle when he was young, Wordsworth tells us, he would have added

the gleam,  
The light that never was, on sea or land,  
The consecration, and the Poet's dream;<sup>33</sup>

and he would have placed the castle

Beside a sea that could not cease to smile<sup>34</sup>

11. "If it [i.e., the poet's theme] were the vast old sea, even the deep immensity of its dread bosom seemed to swell the higher, as if moved by the emotions of the song."<sup>35</sup>

This has several parallels to Wordsworth. First, like the passage quoted in point 10, which it follows, it can be interpreted as a tribute to Wordsworth's power to tear away the veil of familiarity and enable us to see with new power. Second, not only has Wordsworth described such a sea as Hawthorne refers to here, but he has done so in words not unlike these. In "The World Is Too Much with Us" this line appears: "The sea that bares her bosom to the moon."<sup>36</sup> Another well-known Wordsworthian description of the sea appears in the sonnet to Caroline, "It Is a Beauteous Evening."<sup>37</sup> Third, the word *immensity* occurs in the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality,"<sup>38</sup> which we know Hawthorne knew well and quoted from.<sup>39</sup> If the passages quoted in points 6 and 7, above, are allowed as Wordsworthian references, the presence of another echo from the Ode may have added weight.

12. "Thus the world assumed another and a better aspect from the hour that the poet blessed it with his happy eyes. The Creator had bestowed him, as the last best touch to his own handiwork. Creation was not finished till the poet came to interpret, and so complete it."<sup>40</sup>

Two significant Wordsworthian ideas are present in this passage. One is that the mind half perceives and half creates, and that the resultant perception is the product of both processes. The other is that a poet, being a man endowed with a high degree of sensibility, is the one who has the greatest power to perceive and create. This idea is

<sup>33</sup> Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326, ll 14-15

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, III, 432.

<sup>36</sup> Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 349, l. 5.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 353-356, l. 110.

<sup>39</sup> See point 3, above.

<sup>40</sup> Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, III, 432-433.



expressed in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, where a poet is described as "a man . . . endowed with more lively sensibility . . . and a more comprehensive soul, than are supposed to be common among mankind; a man . . . delighting to contemplate . . . volitions and passions as manifested in the goings-on of the Universe, and habitually impelled to create them where he does not find them"<sup>40</sup>

The first idea is clearly expressed in at least two places: "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey" and the Preface to the 1814 edition of the *Excursion*. The italicized words express the idea:

*Therefore am I still  
A lover of the meadows and the woods,  
And mountains; and of all that we behold  
From this green earth, of all the mighty world  
Of eye, and ear, — both what they half create,  
And what perceive*<sup>41</sup>

and

*while my voice proclaims  
How exquisitely the individual Mind  
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less  
Of the whole species) to the external World  
Is fitted — and how exquisitely, too —  
The external World is fitted to the Mind,  
And the creation (by no lower name  
Can it be called) which they with blended might  
Accomplish*<sup>42</sup>

13 "The effect was no less high and beautiful, when his human brethren were the subject of his verse"<sup>43</sup>

That love of nature leads to love of man is another fundamental tenet in Wordsworth's philosophy. It is the sub-title and theme of Book VIII of the *Prelude*. That Wordsworth's poetry deals with man as well as nature is obvious. In Book XIII of the *Prelude* Wordsworth tells how man shall be the subject of his verse

*thus haply shall I teach,  
Inspire, through unadulterated ears  
Pour rapture, tenderness, and hope, — my theme  
No other than the very heart of man,*

<sup>40</sup> Wordsworth, *op cit*, pp 793-794

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p 92, ll 102-107

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p 231, ll 815-824. These lines are from a passage which, as a Prospectus, originally appeared as part of the Preface to the 1814 edition of the *Excursion*. They were later incorporated into the *Recluse*. So important is this idea to Wordsworth that he says of it "this is our high argument." (*Ibid*, l 824)

<sup>43</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 433

*As found among the best of those who live —  
Not unexalted by religious faith,  
Not uninformed by books, good books, though few —  
In Nature's presence"*

14. "The man or woman, sordid with the common dust of life, who crossed his daily path, and the little child who played in it, were glorified if he beheld them in his mood of poetic faith."<sup>45</sup>

Wordsworth's Michael and the leech-gatherer are examples of the common man glorified in poetry; Margaret in Book I of the *Excursion* of the woman; the child in the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" of the child. A passage wherein the poet glorifies the obscure and lowly men and women who cross his path appears in Book XIII of the *Prelude*, lines 160-185

15. "He showed the golden links of the great chain that intertwined them with an angelic kindred; he brought out the hidden traits of a celestial birth that made them worthy of such kin."<sup>46</sup>

The link between man and heaven is an idea clearly expressed in the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality"

In addition to these similarities in theme, there are three similarities in phrasing. One of these is in the passage last quoted

16 "celestial birth." Cf. "Ode on Intimations of Immortality."<sup>47</sup>

17. "celestial smile."<sup>48</sup> Cf. "Ode on Intimations of Immortality."

18. "amid the bustle and the din of cities."<sup>49</sup> Cf. "Tintern Abbey".

and 'mid the din  
Of towns and cities"

19. The last bit of internal evidence is this. No sentence from the description of the Poet is inapplicable to Wordsworth. The sentences quoted above are consecutive, and none is omitted which appears in "The Great Stone Face". Perhaps any one of the similarities pointed out above could be discovered in the work of most other poets; it is in mass, not individually, that they are impressive.

Thus it seems not unlikely that Hawthorne had Wordsworth in mind when he drew the character of the Poet. That he intended the

<sup>45</sup> Wordsworth, *op cit*, *Prelude*, Bk. XIII, ll. 238-245

<sup>46</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 433

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>48</sup> Wordsworth, *op cit*, p. 353, l. 4

<sup>49</sup> Hawthorne, *op cit*, III, 433. See point 10, above

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>51</sup> Wordsworth, *op cit*, p. 91, ll. 25-26

Poet to be recognized as such is less likely; if he did, he failed lamentably. That he was interested in the character is suggested by the fact that he gave more space to sketching him than he did to Gathergold, Old Blood-and-Thunder, or Old Stony Phiz, who are parallel characters and have the same function in the plot.

It would be an interesting but dangerous form of speculation to hypothesize Hawthorne's judgment of his contemporary from this sketch, but it is more fascinating than profitable. The exigencies of plot no doubt affected the drawing of the character. The fact that, although he probably had Wordsworth in mind, he did not make Wordsworth clearly recognizable suggests that Wordsworth supplied only the basis of the character, which Hawthorne altered to suit his purpose in the story. Had Hawthorne really wished to express an opinion of Wordsworth, he would have chosen less esoteric means of doing it. Nevertheless, the probability that the American writer used his English contemporary as a prototype, added to the minor Wordsworthian influences which Randall Stewart has pointed out, suggests that Wordsworth may have exercised a greater influence on Hawthorne than has so far been recognized. It suggests too that the extent and the nature of the influence of English romanticism upon American romanticism are still largely undetermined.

## DUB IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCES

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When Shakespeare's Queen Margaret commands her consort to knight their eldest son —

You promised knighthood to our forward son  
Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently—

and when Sir Toby lists the brave qualifications of Sir Andrew —

He is knight, dubbed with unhatched rapier —

both use the word *dub* in its conventional sense *Dub*, of course, may refer to the ritual of knighting as a whole, but, when indicating a specific act of the ceremony, it has consistently been understood to denote a sword tap on the shoulder of the kneeling candidate. It is so defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*,<sup>1</sup> and it is so employed in connection with the knighting ritual of the present day.<sup>2</sup> *To dub*, in short, is regarded as being exactly synonymous with "to give the accolade."

Nevertheless, an inquiry into the semasiology of *dub* not only reveals meanings which are at variance with the definition just cited, but also throws light on one phase of the knighting ceremony of the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

*Dub* occurs in the Romance languages and in Old Norse, but its origin is conjectural. Meller's suggestion that the French form *adouber* is related to *espouser* because the knight became, in effect, the spouse of chivalry may be disregarded.<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Lübke lists the etymons under a hypothetical Latin verb *addubbare* which, he suggests, is of Germanic provenience.<sup>5</sup> The theory that the word is ultimately Germanic is also

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<sup>1</sup> "To confer the rank of knighthood by the ceremony of striking the shoulder with the sword." *Sv dub*.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief discussion of the modern ceremony, see George G Coulton, "Knighthood," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., XIII, 432.

<sup>3</sup> The most complete discussion of the historical knighting is to be found in Léon Gautier's *La chevalerie*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1895), Chapters VII-VIII. Neither here nor in such other works as that of Alwin Schultz (*Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1889), however, is there a satisfactory treatment of the phase of the knighting ritual to which "dub" most often applies—namely, the accolade. The present investigation of the significance of Middle English *dub* is meant to supply that deficiency, and also to clear the ground for an extended discussion of the whole knighting ceremony in the English romances.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Clifford Meller, *A Knight's Life in the Days of Chivalry* (London, 1924), p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1924), s.v. *addubbare*.

supported by Wartburg, who gives Old Low Frankish *dubban* as a probable original form.<sup>8</sup>

The basic meaning of *dub* seems to be "to dress," "to equip," or "to adorn," and it is often so used in Old French:

Païen s'adobent d'osbers sarrazinois.<sup>9</sup>

A substantive *adous*, referring mainly to arms or military equipment, also occurs in Old French:

De chevaliers a grant maisnie,  
De valle et de damoisiaus,  
Qui servent pour adous noviaus.<sup>10</sup>

Several specialized meanings came to be attached to *adouber*,<sup>11</sup> but, because the early ritual of knighting consisted almost solely of the arming of the candidate, the word was most frequently associated with the knightly ordination.<sup>12</sup> Even when the ceremony became more elaborate, the verb *adouber* continued to designate not only the specific act of presenting the squire with arms, or girding him with the sword, but also the entire process of knighting.<sup>13</sup>

One of the important ceremonial acts which was added to the investment with arms at an early date, perhaps in the eleventh century, was the *colée* or accolade, originally a neck blow delivered with hand or fist.<sup>14</sup> The French expression designating the act of delivering the

<sup>8</sup> Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, 1928-), s.v. *dubban*.

<sup>9</sup> *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. T. Atkinson Jenkins (Boston, 1924), v. 994.

<sup>10</sup> *Amadas et Ydoine*, ed. J. R. Reinhard, "Les classiques français du moyen âge," I.I (Paris, 1926), vv. 160-62. For other occurrences, see Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Nouveau Tirage (Paris, 1937), s.v. *adouber*.

<sup>11</sup> Godefroy (*loc. cit.*) lists such meanings as "panser," "tanner," "arranger," and "mettre en état."

<sup>12</sup> "Die Hauptsache war, dass der junge Mann mit dem Schwerte umgürtet wurde," Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Historians of chivalry agree that the ceremonial arming of the candidate for knighthood is a development of the maturity rite used by ancient Germanic tribes. See George G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Scene* (New York, 1931), pp. 57 ff.; H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed. (New York, 1925), I, 538 ff.; Gautier, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII, and E. J. Jacobs, "The Beginnings of Medieval Chivalry," in *Chivalry*, ed. E. Prestage (London, 1928), pp. 37-55.

<sup>13</sup> For occurrences of the word in the general sense of "to create a knight," see Godefroy, *op. cit.*, s.v. *adouber*.

<sup>14</sup> It would seem that the neck blow was not originally a part of the Germanic maturity rite. Nevertheless, it is described as an act of the ritual of knighting in twelfth century *chansons de geste*, and it later developed into the culminating step of the ceremony (Taylor, *op. cit.*, I, 543). According to one theory the neck blow developed from an ancient Roman custom of striking a slave upon freeing him. This blow was called the *alapa*, a term which, according to Du Cange, is used by mediaeval writers in referring to the accolade of the knight. *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. G. A. L. Henschel (Paris, 1840-50), s.v. *alapa*.

*colée* is usually "donner la colée"; never is *adouber* used in this sense. The hand blow is clearly described in passages like the following as the conclusion of the knighting:

Quant chilz ot bien la tieste armee  
Richars li a chainte l'espee,  
le diestre esporon li caucha  
Et puis sa main diestre haucha  
Se li donne une grant colée<sup>14</sup>

In the above description, it is to be noted, the accolade follows investment with sword and spurs as an additional act. It does not take the place of the true *adoubement*.

In the earlier Old French romances, the *colée* seems invariably to have consisted of a hand or fist blow,<sup>14</sup> but later—in the twelfth century, according to Léon Gautier—a sword tap began to supplant the blow with the hand.<sup>15</sup> And, in the simplified ceremony of modern times, the act of girding on the sword, once "die Hauptsache," has vanished entirely, so that the tap with the flat of the sword blade is left as the principal step.<sup>16</sup>

*Dub* seems to have come into Middle English through the Old French. The general meaning of "to dress" is represented in *The Wars of Alexander*:

He [Alexander] gase a-gayne to de-grece vp to þe gilt trone,  
Dobbed in his diademe & dȳt as be-fore "

In the *Cursor Mundi*, ladies are admonished because of their pride in fine clothing—"And studis hu to dub"<sup>17</sup>—and other clear occurrences of the sense of "to clothe" are to be found in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*.<sup>18</sup> In passages such as these, *dub* could mean "to dress" only in the sense of "to don one's day clothing." Here there is no possibility of construing the word as a reference to the act of put-

<sup>14</sup> *Richard Is Biais*, vv 5145-50. Quoted in Schultz, *op cit*, p 185.

<sup>15</sup> "Es wird bald angegeben, dass der Schlag mit der Hand, und zwar der rechten, geführt wird, bald unterbleibt dies. Vom Schwerte hierbei garmicht die Rede." Karl Treis, *Die Formalstaten des Ritterschlags in der altfranzösischen Epik*, Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 1887), p 97.

<sup>16</sup> Gautier, *op cit*, pp 282-83.

<sup>17</sup> See Coulton, "Knighthood," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed, XIII, 432.

<sup>18</sup> Ed Walter W Skeat, *FETSES*, XLVII (1886), vv 3446-47.

<sup>19</sup> Ed Richard Morris, *FETS*, LVII, LIX, LXII, LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX, CI (1877, 1878, 1892), v 28014.

<sup>20</sup> *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, ed H Oskar Sommer (London, 1894), pp 192 and 431. For other occurrences in Middle English, see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s v *dub*. Other meanings, having nothing to do with the creation of a knight, are also recorded in the *OED*. For example, the word has been used in angling to describe the making of an artificial fly.

ting on armor, or to the ritual of knightng.

In view of the fact that Englishmen followed closely both the pattern and vocabulary of French chivalry, one is not surprised to find the English *dub* also used in connection with the knightng. An early example is to be found in a famous passage in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the date 1085:

he dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere þære.<sup>12</sup>

Here the term seems to be the equivalent of "to create" a knight, as it often is in Old French. The same meaning also occurs very frequently in the English romances:

Mi-self shal dubbe him to knith,  
For-þi þat he is so with <sup>13</sup>

Bote to armure brygt wol y me ta  
ffor þy, sire kyng, now pray y þe,  
dobbe me knygt, par charite <sup>14</sup>

An expression occurring in many Middle English poems is "to dub with the sword":

Ubbe dubbede him to knith  
With a swerd ful swiþe brith <sup>15</sup>

Sometimes the sword is called by its proper name:

Nyne monethes es gon aryghte  
Sen I with Cursu was dobbide knighte  
My golde brayden brande <sup>16</sup>

In the above passages, the significance of *dub* is difficult to ascertain because of the paucity of details. One who has the conventional definition in mind is inclined to interpret the word as indicating a ceremony consisting merely of a sword tap. On the other hand, it was not until after the period of the romances that the sword tap assumed sufficient importance to be mentioned as the sole or principal act of a knightng. Thus it is entirely possible that "to dub with the sword" should here be taken to mean "to clothe" or "to gird" with the sword,

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Earle and Plummer (Oxford, 1889), I, 216-17.

<sup>13</sup> *The Lay of Havelok*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, *EETS*, IV (1868), vv. 2042-43.

<sup>14</sup> *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, *EETS*, CLXXII (1927), Lincoln's Inn MS, vv. 1303-05.

<sup>15</sup> *Havelok*, ed. cit., vv. 2314-15. Very similar statements occur in *Beves of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, *EETS*, XLV, XLVIII, LXV (1885, 1886, 1894), vv. 969-75; *Libeaus Desconus*, in *The Percy Folio Manuscript*, ed. John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall (London, 1867-68), II, 404-09, vv. 87-90; *King Horn*, ed. Joseph Hall (Oxford, 1901), Cambridge MS, vv. 499-500; and *Duke Rowlande and Sir Ottuell*, ed. Sidney Hertridge, *EETS*, XXXV (1880), vv. 140-41.

<sup>16</sup> *Duke Rowlande and Sir Ottuell*, ed. cit., vv. 139-41.

in which case *dub* would have its original significance.

In Old French, as has already been stated, the accolade, whether delivered with hand or sword, is called the *colée*. In Middle English, however, that act is generally indicated by *dub*, although certain other expressions, including a form of the word *colée*, are occasionally to be found.<sup>28</sup> Thus, in *Lovelich's Merlin*, the culmination of the elaborate ceremony marking the ordination of Gawain, his three brothers, and a number of other youths is described in these terms:

Ryht in the Nekke thanne dubbed hym he [Arthur],  
And bad hym a worthy knyht to be.<sup>29</sup>

Sagramore's accolade, occurring a few lines later, is similarly described:

Sethen in the Nekke kyng Arthour him smot "<sup>30</sup>

In this plural *adoubement* it is unlikely that Arthur is meant by the poet to have had a sword in his hand when delivering the neck blows. Arthur's sword, "calybrond," is stated in the immediately preceding passage (vv. 25753-60) to have been girt about Gawain's waist. The other candidates had been supplied with precious swords by Merlin. Since the King's own sword had been bestowed upon Gawain, and since there is no hint that Arthur retrieved Excalibur or that he used any other sword, one may be justified in concluding that the *colées* were delivered with hand or fist. It is highly improbable that he should have administered the *colée* to all the candidates with a sword which he had already given permanently to one of them, or that he should have unsheathed the sword of each candidate, given the accolade, and returned the weapon—all without mention by the poet. The interpretation that the blow was not given with the sword in the above instance is considerably strengthened by the testimony of Sir Gilbert Hay to the effect that the hand blow was known in Britain in the mid-fifteenth century:

And than suld the squier hald up his handis to heuyn, and his eyne to the hicht, and his hert to God, syttand on his kneis, and thare suld the prince have the suerd redy of honour, gylt with gold, and belt it about his sydis, in takenyng of chastitee, justice and cheritee, and thare the knyght suld

<sup>28</sup> *Ide*, disguised as a man, receives the "necke stroke of knyghthood" from the emperor (*Huon of Burdeux*, ed. S. L. Lee, *EETS*, XL, XLI, XLIII, I, [1882, 1883, 1884, 1887], p. 712); King Philip, when knighting Alexander, gives him "the tole aryght" (*Lyfe of Alisaunder*, in *Metrical Romances*, ed. Henry Weber [Edinburgh, 1810], I, 1-327, v. 815); and Prince Horn is another hero who, having been girt with the sword and supplied with spurs, is "smot a litel wist" by King Houlac (*King Horn*, ed. *cit.*, Cambridge MS, v. 503, Harleian MS, v. 507, and Oxford MS, v. 523. For the infrequent occurrences of ME *colee*, see *OED*, s. v. *colee*).

<sup>29</sup> *Lovelich's Merlin*, ed. Ernest Koch, *EETS*, XCIII, CXII, and o. a. CLXXXV (1904, 1913, 1932), vv. 25761-62.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 25789.



outhur geve him a strake with his hand, or with a drawin suerd, in the nek, to thunk on the poyntis and defend his dewiteis<sup>18</sup>

That is, in view of the fact that this early form of the *colée* was still known, and perhaps used, in England as late as the fifteenth century, it is the more likely that it should be represented in such romances as *Lovelich's Merlin*.

Somewhat the same type of description is to be found in *The Foure Sonnes of Aymon*<sup>19</sup> At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the accounts of the hand blow in the Middle English romances are less clear and of less frequent occurrence than those in the French romances, such as *Richars le Biaus*, from which a passage is quoted above.

In still other chivalric tales, however, *dub* appears to denote the later form of the *colée*:

Thenne had the kynge gret joye, and dressyng hym to sytte vp, and toke the swerde by the pomel that Uryan toke hym, and therwith dowbed hym knyght<sup>20</sup>

Since the lord conferring the honor is here described as holding by the pommel the sword which has just been girt about Uryan's waist, it is scarcely to be doubted that the act indicated by "dowbed" is the sword tap. The sword tap is also depicted in the following passage from *Huon of Burdeux*, although the word *dub* is not employed.

. . . the damoyzell gyrte aboute hym his sworde / then the kynge drewe it out of the shethe and therwith made hym knyght.<sup>21</sup>

In most romance references to the *colée*, it is impossible to determine, because of the absence of details, whether the fist blow or sword tap is meant. The foregoing passages are sufficiently explicit, however, to indicate that *dub* is used in several distinct meanings. That is, *dub* not only carries the general and specific meanings attached to French *adoubier*, but it seems also to have absorbed the signification of the expression "donner la *colée*." Such a confusion could very understandably have come about through faulty translations in a period when French was rapidly dropping out of general use in England.

In short, in addition to the conventionally accepted meanings of (1) to create a knight and (2) to give the accolade with the sword, then, Middle English *dub* sometimes signifies (3) to give the accolade with the hand or fist, and also, in all probability, (4) to invest with the sword.

<sup>18</sup> *The Buke of Knychthede*, ed J. H. Stevenson, *Scottish Text Society*, LXII (1914), p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> Ed Octavia Richardson, *EETSFS*, XLIV, XLV (1885), p. 31

<sup>20</sup> *Melusine*, ed. A. K. Donald, *EETSFS*, LXVIII (1895), p. 753

<sup>21</sup> *Huon of Burdeux*, ed. cit., p. 635

# THE POPULARITY OF *THE MOURNING BRIDE* IN THE LONDON THEATERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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In his study of the life and works of William Congreve, D. Crane Taylor has ventured the speculation that if the "complete stage history [of *The Mourning Bride*] could be traced for the century following its appearance, the number of performances would undoubtedly exceed that of any tragedy outside of Shakespeare."<sup>1</sup> He also refers to the "enormous popularity of the tragedy,"<sup>2</sup> and in the same chapter comments upon its fame. "No tragedy, not even the popular dramas of Nicholas Rowe in the next two decades, held the stage so consistently as *The Mourning Bride*."<sup>3</sup>

It is true that Congreve's tragedy was one of the stage favorites for a considerable portion of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Mr. Taylor's zeal in its behalf has led him to place it far above its actual rank among the non-Shakespearean tragedies in the London playhouses of that century. If one accepts Mr. Taylor's use of the number of performances as a criterion of its vogue, a count of the offerings of the leading tragedies (except those of Shakespeare or alterations of Shakespeare's tragedies) from 1702 to the retirement of David Garrick in 1776<sup>4</sup> reveals that *The Mourning Bride* not only was not the leading tragedy but was not among the first five:

Tragedy	Number of Performances, 1702-1776
<i>The Orphan</i>	314
<i>Tamerlane</i>	282
<i>Jane Shore</i>	279
<i>Oroonoko</i>	272
<i>Venice Preserved</i>	269
<i>The Fair Penitent</i>	261
<i>Cato</i>	226
<i>The Mourning Bride</i>	205

<sup>1</sup> William Congreve (Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 94

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Because it is impossible to determine the daily schedules of the London theaters accurately before the appearance of theatrical advertisements in the *Daily Courant* in 1702, that date has been chosen for the beginning of this survey. When Garrick retired in 1776 many of the plays first produced in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries had run their course of popularity, and since there were only thirty-three offerings of *The Mourning Bride* between the season of 1776-77 and the end of the century, it is clear that carrying the data to 1800 could not raise Congreve's play to first place. Finally, although it is difficult to make a completely accurate count of all the presentations of any play, since advertised performances are not always actual ones, an endeavor has been made to include every performance of these plays in the winter and summer seasons of the London theaters, but presentations at Greenwich, Richmond or Bartholomew Fair are not included.

<i>The Distrest Mother</i>	186
<i>The London Merchant</i>	179
<i>The Unhappy Favourite</i>	157
<i>All for Love</i>	110

Inasmuch as not all of these plays were produced before the opening of the eighteenth century, their relative popularity, if determined by the average number of presentations during the years they were in the repertory, will differ from that indicated by the totals for each play. On that basis both *The Distrest Mother* and *The London Merchant* would rise above Congreve's tragedy; and since *The London Merchant* was not produced until 1731, its frequency of performance averages higher than that of any other play except *Jane Shore* and *The Orphan*. On the other hand, it is possible that *Tamerlane* was not so genuinely popular with the audiences as its rank would imply, for, especially in the second half of the century, it was customarily offered at both Drury Lane and Covent Garden on November 4 (often on November 5 also), but only rarely at any other time in the year. Thus its appearance on the stage appears to be due more to the custom of acting it on the anniversary of the birthday of King William III than to any very genuine appeal. One may also speculate that *The Unhappy Favorite* might have been as popular in the second half of the century as in the first if it had not had competition from two new versions of the same story—*The Earl of Essex* by Henry Jones, and *The Earl of Essex* by Henry Brooke.

In contrast to Mr. Taylor's belief that "not even the popular dramas of Nicholas Rowe" held the stage so steadily as *The Mourning Bride*, it is apparent that Rowe is the only playwright represented in the list by as many as three plays and that all three exceed Congreve's tragedy in number of performances. Otway is the only other author with more than one tragedy among the first twelve. In fact, there was no decade in the first seventy-five years of the eighteenth century during which *The Mourning Bride* was, in terms of the cumulative total of performances, the leading tragedy on the stage. Nevertheless, it had two periods of considerable popularity. A major revival in the theater in Goodman's Fields late in 1731 gave it new life for several years; again, in the winter of 1750, when Garrick made his first appearance as Osmyn, it received an impetus which lasted for several years. To deny it first place is not to deny its popularity, yet it clearly did not hold the stage so consistently as did some other tragedies.

## EDUCATION IN ALASKA<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM K. KELLER

The first school in Alaska was established in 1785 by Gregor Shelikof, a fur trader. The first governmental recognition of the need for education in the new country was given when Catherine II, Empress of Russia, dispatched missionaries to the territory in 1793. In 1821 the new charter granted to the Russian-American Company by the Imperial Russian Government made it mandatory that the company establish and maintain schools for children at its own expense. Thus began the process of education in Alaska. Though many schools were established under the Russian regime, they were usually short lived and ineffective.

The transfer of the territory to the United States in 1867 was followed by seventeen years of neglect, during which only one attempt was made to establish a school. This resulted in failure. From 1884 to 1896 the principal educational efforts were carried on by the mission schools with the aid of governmental subsidies. Not until the discovery of gold brought an influx of white population were serious efforts made to care adequately for the educational needs. After the turn of the century the education of the natives was definitely established as a duty of the Federal government, and the duty of educating the white children and "children of mixed blood leading a civilized life" was given to the people of the territory. The two school systems which now exist are entirely separate. They are under the control of two entirely separate departments of government: the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, and the territorial government of Alaska, respectively.

Examination of the two school systems indicates a wide divergence of objectives. The native schools are community centers where economic, medical, social, and vocational activities for adults and children are carried on. The territorial schools are, for the most part, narrowly academic, emphasizing preparation for entrance to college. Little opportunity is given the natives to prepare for other than vocational pursuits. Practically no opportunity is offered white children to prepare for vocations. Both systems hold extremely narrow conceptions of the purposes of education.

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<sup>1</sup> Abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Education, State College of Washington (1941)

Educationally the natives appear to be making about the same progress as do the native children in the Philippine Islands, or as do the native and Indian children in the Fiji Islands. The white children who attend schools in the incorporated cities in Alaska appear to have some advantages over children of the same age groups in the United States proper—with the result that, in the former, the school mortality is lower, and a much greater proportion of the high school graduates continue education in institutions of higher learning. Little is done for the white children and the mixed-blood children who attend the rural schools of the territorial system, and they drop out of schools at a very early age, often before securing even a working knowledge of reading and writing.

Unfortunately, authoritarianism rules in both school systems to an extent that is hardly in keeping with American school traditions. Both systems show lack of adjustment of the schools to community needs. Civic pride in the schools and civic responsibility for their welfare are generally non-existent outside of the incorporated cities. Education in Alaska has become another victim of bureaucratic government. In order to restore the lost values educational objectives must be re-oriented; equal educational opportunities must be provided for all children irrespective of race or place of residence; the trend toward authoritarianism must be reversed and democratic procedures and attitudes substituted if the schools are to fulfill their proper functions in the communities.

# FACTORS IN THE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF MALE YOUTH IN WHITMAN COUNTY, WASHINGTON<sup>1</sup>

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## PROBLEM AND PURPOSE

Perhaps no social issue has received more widespread attention during the depression years of the 1930's than the problem of the unemployed, under-employed, and "mal-employed" youth.<sup>2</sup> Since the depression numerous surveys have been undertaken by colleges and universities, governmental departments, and private agencies with the hope of finding out the facts regarding the youth problem.<sup>3</sup> Not only have youth in general been the object of study, but the occupational and social problems of rural youth have been given special attention.<sup>4</sup> Rural youth have been singled out for special study because during the depression the curtailment of production and the decline of trade made it almost impossible for them to secure employment in the cities. Large numbers were forced to remain on the farm or in villages, often as unpaid assistants to their parents.<sup>5</sup> This "piling up" of rural youth was one of the major problems which grew out of the depression.

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<sup>1</sup> The authors are deeply grateful to Dr Fred R. Yoder, Department of Sociology, for generous assistance in various aspects of this study

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with general practice, 16 and 24 are here used as the lower and the upper age limits of "youth"

<sup>3</sup> Some of the most significant of these studies may be found in Louise A. Menefee and M. M. Chambers, *American Youth An Annotated Bibliography* (Washington, D. C. The American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, 1938), pp. 351-403. Particularly significant among the studies conducted by governmental agencies are three Works Progress Administration monographs—Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospect*, WPA Research Monograph No. XV (1938); Bruce L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, WPA Research Monograph No. XI (1937); and Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Youth in Agricultural Villages*, WPA Research Monograph No. XXI (1940). In addition, the following are noteworthy. *Youth Community Surveys*, United States Office of Education, Bulletin No. 18-VI (1936); Harold M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, D. C. American Youth Commission, 1938). An excellent popular presentation of the youth problem is found in Maxwell S. Stewart, *Youth in the World Today* (New York: Public Affairs Pamphlets, Inc., 1940)

<sup>4</sup> The demographic and technological forces in the youth situation are excellently summarized by Melvin and Smith, *Rural Youth Their Situation and Prospect*, "Summary," pp. xiii-xvi

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

These studies of youth have attempted, primarily, to *describe* the general occupational and social situation of this group. They have shown that a youth problem exists, to what extent it exists, and in what form it exists. The studies were descriptive of the conditions existing in a given time and place.

With these descriptive studies as a background, researchers can concentrate on special aspects of the youth problem. Although the surveys show that fewer rural youth are securing jobs, some are doing so. The present study attempts to find some of the factors which may be associated with the kind of occupations youth enter. Do the family background and other social experiences help to place youth in their occupations? If so, what are these experiences?

*Purpose of the Study* The present study undertook to answer the question: "Why do rural youth enter the occupations they do?" At least a partial answer was obtained by examining twenty-four factors in the social background of youth in relation to the occupation they entered. These twenty-four factors selected for study are:

Occupation of father

Previous occupation of father

Previous occupation of mother

Occupational status of father (gainfully employed, unemployed, retired, deceased, pensioned)

Size of family income

Education of father

Education of mother

Size of high school town

Size of high school attended

Length of residence in Whitman County

Type of parental aid in entering an occupation

Amount of parental aid in entering an occupation

Ownership or tenancy of farm by father (if a farmer)

Size of father's farm (if a farmer)

Completion of high school

High school course taken by youth

Part-time employment in high school years

Intelligence quotient

High school grade average

Age of youth at graduation from high school

First job out of high school

Migration of youth to large cities (population 10,000 or more) to secure employment

Type of education youth received after leaving high school

Time spent in further education after leaving high school

## REGION AND METHOD

Whitman County was selected as the "laboratory" for this study. It is not difficult to find evidence that the youth reared in the "Palouse Country" of eastern Washington have experienced the same occupational difficulties faced by rural young people in other parts of the nation. The major portion of the farm land in this part of eastern Washington south of Spokane is devoted to the growing of wheat. Whitman County is the center of this wheat-producing area; it is one of the richest agricultural counties in the United States. In spite of this, there are evidences that it has a "youth problem."

In 1930, 19 per cent of the 28,014 inhabitants of Whitman County were young people aged 15 through 24 years. Of the 5,272 youth of these ages, 45 per cent lived on farms, 32 per cent in villages of less than 2500, and 23 per cent in the two cities of Colfax and Pullman, classified by the United States Census as urban (populations, 2,782 and 3,322, respectively). The total population of the county is distributed among farms, villages, and small cities in approximately the same proportion as are the youth.<sup>6</sup> Each year from 450 to 550 people in the younger age groups leave school or graduate from one of the twenty-two high schools in the county.

On the basis of these figures, from three hundred to four hundred jobs must be found each year for the young men and that portion of the young women who enter the labor market. That it is difficult if not impossible for Whitman County to absorb all of its youth is evidenced by the fact that since 1910 the total population of the county has steadily declined. In 1910, 33,280 persons were living in the county; in 1940 there were 27,221—a decline of 15 per cent. This means that the county has not been able to supply jobs for all its population. Although the per capita farm income is high,<sup>7</sup> there are fewer job opportunities each year than there are youth seeking work.

Further indications that a job problem exists are to be found by examination of the potential jobs which the county offers.<sup>8</sup> Fifty-two per cent of the males gainfully employed in the county in 1930 were workers in agriculture—approximately 32 per cent as owners or ten-

<sup>6</sup> *Fifteenth Census of the United States, "Population" (1930), Vol. III, Tables 13 and 14, pp. 1223-28.*

<sup>7</sup> Approximately \$7000 per grain-producing farm, according to the *Fifteenth Census of the United States, "Agriculture" (1930), Vol. III, Part 3, p. 331.*

<sup>8</sup> Data from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States, "Population," op. cit., Table 20, p. 1235.*



ants and 20 per cent as farm laborers. Wholesale and retail activities employed an additional 16 per cent. Six per cent were professional people, composed chiefly of school teachers and of employees of the State College of Washington. Six per cent were employed on railroads. The remaining one-fifth of the workers were scattered among minor industries and trades, such as building, lumbering, and domestic service. As will be shown later, there is evidence that agriculture has become more mechanized than it was in 1930. Farms are becoming larger, farm laborers fewer. The declining population and the use of the automobile for long-distance shopping make further expansion of the service functions of the villages unlikely. Thus the occupations in which more than two-thirds of the potential jobs in Whitman County are to be found are employing fewer people instead of more. When the depression restricted the movement of rural youth to the city, the problem of occupational adjustment was felt in eastern Washington, as it was in other areas.

*Source of Data.* The data for this study were obtained from a sample of youth whose homes were in Whitman County during the time they were attending high school. Because the sample of youth should be approximately representative of all the youth of the county and should be composed of individuals long enough out of school to have normally found permanent work, the sample selected for study was the 1934 graduation class of each of the twenty-two high schools in the county, plus students who would have graduated in that year had they not dropped from school. It was assumed that one complete high school class would be fairly representative of all youth in the county and that, therefore, the social and occupational situation of this sample would be fairly typical of the social and occupational situation of all youth in the county. At the time the data were gathered (December and January, 1939-40), the youth had been out of high school five and one-half years. It was assumed that this length of time would be sufficient to allow even those who had gone on to college time to finish their college careers and secure jobs.

For each youth the information was secured in one of three ways: 1) by interviewing the youth himself; 2) by interviewing a close relative; or 3) by mailing him a questionnaire if he could not be otherwise reached. Responses were recorded on a schedule which had been tested by a preliminary field trial. In these ways, information was secured

for 443, or 90.1 per cent, of the 487 persons listed on the high school records as members of the class of 1934.

*Method of Study.* The data from the interviews were combined into statistical tables in such form that each table gave the necessary information for determining the relationship between one of the twenty-four factors and the occupations entered by the youth.<sup>9</sup> A separate table was constructed for each sex and each variable. There were, therefore, forty-eight tables in all.<sup>10</sup> By an analysis of the contents of these tables and a comparison of the statistical reliability of the differences noted,<sup>11</sup> it is possible to point out the factors that were found to be associated with each type of occupation.

#### OCCUPATIONS OF WHITMAN COUNTY YOUTH AND THE FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE OCCUPATIONS

What is the distribution of the various types of occupations which Whitman County youth enter? Table I presents the number and percentage of youth found in each of the occupations compared with the number and percentage of the youths' fathers found in the same occupations. Approximately one-fourth of the young men were white-collar workers, another one-fourth farmers, and forty per cent manual laborers at the time the data were gathered. Almost one youth in every ten was unemployed. Although not shown in this table, about one youth in every ten was still a student, having at this time made no permanent occupational adjustment. In contrast to the youth of this study, over half of their fathers were farmers, and only one in five manual laborers. Approximately the same proportion of the fathers were in the

<sup>9</sup> This technique of "factoring" occupational data was adapted from a study of the occupational mobility of urban workers by Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community* (Stanford University Press, 1937).

<sup>10</sup> Lack of space does not permit the presentation of the forty-eight tables. As this study is concerned only with male youth, the twenty-four tables for the female youth are not here analyzed. Only eight of the tables showing the relationship of the occupations to the social factors will be analyzed. These tables are the most significant and will give the reader a good idea of how the relationships reported in this study were derived.

For a complete analysis of the factors reported here, see Don J. Bogue, *Factors in the Occupational Adjustment of Rural Youth in Whitman County, Washington*, an unpublished Master's thesis (1940) in the library of the State College of Washington.

<sup>11</sup> A chi-square test was applied to all tables.  $X^2 = \sum [(f - np)^2 \div npq]$ . If the differences between the distributions were not likely to have occurred by chance (a difference of two sigma or better), it was assumed that the factor being analyzed was associated with the type of occupation the youth entered.

Table I. Present Occupations of Male Whitman County Youth and of Their Fathers

Occupation	Male Youth*		Fathers†	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional	11	6.0	25	5.8
Proprietor	15	8.2	56	13.0
Clerical	22	11.9	30	4.6
Farmer	43	23.4	235	54.7
Skilled Laborer	16	8.7	42	9.8
Semi-skilled Laborer	26	14.1	10	2.3
Unskilled Laborer	34	18.5	37	8.6
Unemployed	17	9.2	5	1.2
Total	184	100.0	430	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases and 2 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

† The occupational distribution of the fathers is based on the data for the fathers of all the male and female youth in this sample. No separate runs were made for fathers of the males alone. Ten cases in which there was no information for the fathers were excluded from this table.

white-collar occupations, although it is interesting to note that there were proportionately more of the fathers than of the youth who were proprietors and proportionately fewer who were in the clerical occupations. In marked contrast to their sons, only one father in every hundred was unemployed. Apparently the occupation of farming is closing its doors to these youth, whereas there are proportionately more youth going into the laboring class, especially in the semi-skilled and unskilled group.

That farming is not offering much opportunity to youth can be seen in an even more striking manner when the youth who are classified as farmers are sorted into "Owner," "Tenant," and "Worker on father's farm." Table II shows this distribution for the forty youth

Table II. Distribution of the Farm Youth by Owner, Tenant, and Worker on Father's Farm

	Number	Per Cent
Owner	1	2.5
Tenant	17	42.5
Worker on Father's Farm	22	55.0

(out of the forty-three classified as farmers in Table I) for whom this information was available. More than half of the farmer youth were living at home working as partners or assistants on their fathers' farms.

Is there any relationship between the occupations of the fathers of Whitman County youth and their sons? Table III shows that of

**Table III. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Occupations of Fathers**

Occupation of Youth	Occupation of Father					
	All Youth*		White Collar		Farmer	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
White Collar	47	26.1	10	54.3	17	16.8
Farmer	42	23.3	0	0.0	40	39.6
Laborer	74	41.1	12	34.3	39	38.6
Unemployed	17	9.5	4	11.4	5	5.0
Total	180	100.0	35	100.0	101	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases and 6 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

the fathers who were white-collar workers over half of their sons (54.3 per cent) became white-collar workers. On the other hand, only 16.8 per cent of the sons of farmers and 24.4 per cent of the sons of laborers became white-collar workers. Almost 40 per cent of the farmers' sons became farmers. It is interesting that nearly as high a percentage of the sons of farmers have gone into the laboring class. Again, over half of the sons of fathers in the laboring group were also laborers. The conclusions to be drawn from this table are obvious. There is a marked tendency for the sons to follow their fathers' occupational classification. Although the differences are not statistically significant, it should be observed that there is a larger percentage of sons of laborers unemployed than of sons of white-collar workers. The small percentage of sons of farmers unemployed is probably due to the fact already pointed out, that many of the sons of farmers, rather than remain unoccupied, work on their fathers' farms.

Another factor which might be associated with the occupations into which youth go, a factor closely related to the occupation of the father, is the economic background of the family. Table IV shows the occupational distribution of youth by the size of the family income. There are some very apparent trends. The lower the family income, the larger is the proportion of youth who are in the laboring group. In contrast, the larger the family income, the greater the proportion of youth who are farmers. This latter trend prevails for the white-collar workers up to families with incomes of \$3000 or over, where there is a marked drop. This drop may, of course, be due to chance, and no generalizations should be drawn. On the assumption that a large proportion of youth aspire to positions high in the socio-economic scale, which seems

Table IV. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Size of Family Income

Occupation of Youth	All Youth*	Annual Income of Family								
		\$0-999	\$1000-1999	\$2000-2999	\$3000-over					
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent			
White Collar	25	22.5	3	8.4	14	27.4	6	22.2	2	20.0
Farmer	30	27.0	5	15.6	12	25.5	6	22.4	6	60.0
Laborer	44	41.5	19	59.4	21	41.2	4	22.2	2	20.0
Unemployed	10	9.0	5	15.6	3	5.9	2	11.1	0	0.0
Total	111	100.0	22	100.0	51	100.0	18	100.0	10	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases and 75 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table.

to be borne out by many studies,<sup>12</sup> family income seems a definitely limiting factor in occupational adjustment.

The occupational distribution of youth, according to the time spent in further education after high school, is presented in Table V. This

Table V. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Time Spent in Further Education after Leaving High School

Occupation of Youth	Number of Months' Education							
	All Youth*		No Further Education		1-30 Months Education		30.1-66 Months Education	
	No	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No	Per cent
Professional	11	6.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	37.9
Proprietor and Clerical	34	19.2	16	16.5	10	19.6	8	27.6
Farmer	42	24.3	23	23.7	16	31.4	4	13.8
Laborer	72	40.7	46	47.4	22	43.1	4	13.8
Unemployed	17	9.6	12	12.4	3	5.9	2	6.9
Total	177	100.0	97	100.0	51	100.0	29	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases and 9 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table.

table shows that the more education the youth receive the higher is the proportion of youth in the white-collar occupations. In fact, there are no youth in professional occupations who do not have between 30.1 and 66 months of further education. From other tables not reported here, it is apparent that this amount of education means a college career. On the other hand, the more education youth have, the less likelihood there is of their being laborers. Amount of further education does not, however, discriminate so far as becoming a farmer is con-

<sup>12</sup> For example, see: Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, pp. 134-37

cerned. It should be observed that there are almost twice as many youth unemployed in the group who have no further education as in the group who have some further education, even though the actual numbers are small and might be the result of chance distribution.

Along with the amount of further education it is interesting to observe that the amount of financial parental aid after high school is a factor in the occupational distribution of these youth. This can be seen in Table VI. The more parental financial aid the youth receive,

**Table VI. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Amount of Parental Aid since Leaving High School**

Occupation of Youth	Amount of Parental Aid							
	All Youth*		No Aid		Less than \$1000		\$1000 or over	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
White Collar	29	24.1	25	20.3	6	31.6	3	40.0
Farmer	36	22.2	23	18.7	4	21.1	9	45.0
Laborer	72	44.4	62	51.2	7	36.8	2	10.0
Unemployed	15	9.3	12	9.8	2	10.5	1	5.0
Total	162	100.0	123	100.0	19	100.0	20	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases and 24 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

the higher are the proportions of youth who become white-collar workers or farmers, whereas a very high proportion of youth who received no parental financial aid are in the laboring class. It is probably true that parental financial aid means help toward a college education for the white-collar group and help toward getting started on a farm in the case of the farmers. It may be pointed out here that the average investment in land and buildings on a Whitman County wheat farm was \$37,000 in 1930.<sup>18</sup>

Table VII shows that the scholastic achievement as measured by the average grade the youth made in high school also discriminates so far as occupational distribution is concerned. The youth who made an average grade of "A" or "B" show larger proportions in the white-collar and farming groups, whereas the youth who made an average grade of "C" or "D" show larger proportions in the laboring class and the unemployed category. The distribution of the unemployed, of course, might occur by chance, the numbers are so small.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 130-31, for a fuller discussion of this point

**Table VII. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Average Grade Made in High School**

Occupation of Youth	All Youth*		High School Grades					
			"A" or "B"		"C"		"D"	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
White Collar	40	25.6	14	43.8	10	26.0	7	13.7
Farmer	40	25.6	12	37.5	17	23.3	11	21.6
Laborer	64	41.1	5	15.6	31	42.5	28	54.9
Unemployed	12	7.7	1	3.1	6	8.2	5	9.8
Total	156	100.0	32	100.0	73	100.0	51	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases, 1 case in which the grade average was "F", and 29 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

Table VIII presents data showing that the ownership status of farmer fathers affects the distribution of the occupations of the sons. Proportionately more sons are farmers if their fathers are both owners

**Table VIII. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Ownership Status of Farmer Fathers**

Occupation of Youth	All Youth*		Ownership Status					
			Owner and Tenant		Owner		Tenant	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
White Collar	16	17.0	1	4.3	9	18.4	6	27.3
Farmer	37	39.4	16	69.6	17	34.7	4	18.2
Laborer	36	38.3	6	26.1	19	38.8	11	50.0
Unemployed	5	5.3	0	0.0	4	8.1	1	4.5
Total	94	100.0	23	100.0	49	100.0	22	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases, 82 cases of "Father Not a Farmer," and 10 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

and tenants, or simply owners, than if their fathers are merely tenants. On the other hand, proportionately more sons are in the laboring class if their fathers are merely tenants than if they are owners and tenants, or simply owners. Probably an associated factor with ownership status is the size of the father's farm. Table IX rather definitely shows that a farmer's son is much more likely to be in farming if his father's farm is 500 acres or larger than if it is smaller than 500 acres. Conversely, a farmer's son is much more likely to be in the laboring group if his father's farm is smaller than 500 acres than if it is larger than 500 acres.

Table IX. Distribution of the Occupations of Male Youth According to Size of Fathers' Farms

Occupation of Youth	Size of Fathers' Farms							
	All Youth*		0-259 Acres		260-499 Acres		500-999 Acres	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
White Collar	16	17.4	5	23.8	8	24.2	1	4.7
Farmer	37	40.2	2	9.5	8	24.2	14	66.7
Laborer	34	37.0	13	61.9	15	45.5	4	19.1
Unemployed	5	5.4	1	4.8	2	6.1	2	9.5
Total	92	100.0	21	100.0	33	100.0	21	100.0

\* 22 "Student" cases, 82 cases of "Father Not a Farmer," and 12 cases of "No Information" are omitted from this table

## SYNTHESIS

Are there any generalizations which can be made from the analysis of these tables and some of the tables not shown here? The analysis of the data of this study revealed several significant relationships between the occupations of the youth and the twenty-four social factors. The basic hypothesis of the study was validated: social factors in the background of youth seem to be associated with the occupations they enter. Moreover, certain specific factors seem to be related to specific occupations. In the following pages a summary of the factors associated with each of the major occupational categories—white-collar worker, farmer, manual laborer, unemployed—will be attempted.<sup>14</sup>

*Becoming a White-Collar Worker* Becoming a white-collar worker after having attended a Whitman County high school was found to be associated with the following factors:

- a Having a father who is a white-collar worker
- b Coming from a family whose annual income is \$1000 or more
- c Having a father who had a college education
- d Living in a community of more than 2500 inhabitants
- e Securing further education after leaving high school:

<sup>14</sup> It should be remembered that the establishment of a relationship between one of the factors and a given occupation does not mean that *only* youth with that factor will enter the given occupation. In most instances a certain proportion of the youths were found to have entered each occupation without having possessed the particular factor being associated with the occupations. The factors listed indicate that the number and proportion of persons, employed at that type of work, who did possess the factor was so much greater than the number and proportion who did not possess the factor, that some relationship is assumed to exist between the factor and the type of occupation.



- (1) A college education if employed in an occupation classified as "professional"
  - (2) A "vocational education" (business college, trade school, etc.) if employed as a proprietor
- f Receiving parental aid in securing further education
  - g Receiving parental aid of \$1000 or more after leaving school
  - h Having averaged a grade of "A" or "B" for the four years of high school work.

Seemingly three types of factors are included in the above list: those factors which are *requirements* for becoming a white-collar worker, those factors which indicate *opportunity* to become a white-collar worker, and those factors which reflect a *desire* to become a white-collar worker. Education beyond high school is generally considered to be a requirement for entrance into at least the professional and proprietary classes of the white-collar occupations. The factors dealing with family income, parental assistance, and size of community probably reflect opportunity to secure white-collar employment. Occupation of father, education of father, and high school grades may be thought of as factors which may have shaped the vocational preference of the youth. The great majority of Whitman County youth who become white-collar workers seemingly do so because one or more of the above factors appear in their social or individual background.

*Becoming a Farmer* More than three-fourths of the farm land in Whitman County grows wheat. In 1930 the average size of a wheat farm was 562 acres, the average-size farm in the United States was 157 acres. The average investment in the machinery on a wheat farm in Whitman County was \$2,350, whereas the average farm in the United States had a machinery investment of only \$712. The average investment in land and buildings on a Whitman County wheat farm was \$37,000—more than three times the amount invested in land and buildings on an average Washington farm.<sup>15</sup> Before setting himself up as an independent farmer, even as a tenant farmer, a youth must invest several thousand dollars in equipment, fuel, and seed. Interviews with machinery dealers in the various communities revealed that from 1932 to 1937 there was a marked increase in the sale of large-size farming units whose average capacity was a thousand acres of wheat annually. The necessity of meeting the payments on this expensive equipment and the desirability of spreading the fixed costs over a maximum acre-

<sup>15</sup> These data are computed from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, "Agriculture," Vol. III, part 3, Tables I, II, and III, pp 321-31.

age have resulted in a "squeeze-out"<sup>16</sup> of the small farmer. All land for rent is quickly seized by well-established farmers whose acreage is below the capacity of their equipment.

In the light of this information the factors found to be associated with a youth's becoming a farmer in Whitman County are quite understandable. Only those youth who have access to land and equipment become farmers. This opportunity is lacked by the sons of tenant farmers and possessed in the greatest degree by the sons of fathers who both own and rent land. It is lacked by the sons of fathers with small farms and incomes and possessed by the sons of fathers with large farms and incomes. The study found the factors associated with a youth's becoming a farmer in Whitman County to be:

- a. Having a father who is a farmer
- b. Having a father who is owner of a farm
- c. Having a father who is the proprietor of a farm of 500 acres or more
- d. Coming from a family whose annual income is more than \$1000 per year
- e. Receiving parental financial aid of \$1000 or more to get started in farming

It is significant that the education of the youth, the education of the parents, and all community factors seem to be unrelated to becoming a farmer in Whitman County.

*Becoming a Manual Laborer.* In many respects the factors associated with becoming a skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled worker are the reverse of those related to becoming a white-collar worker. The factors found to be associated with a youth becoming a manual worker were as follows:

- a. Coming from a family whose annual net income is less than \$1000
- b. Receiving no parental aid of any type after leaving high school
- c. Residing in a community of fewer than 2500 inhabitants
- d. Having a father deceased
- e. Having a father who is a manual worker
- f. Failure to graduate from high school
- g. Having averaged a grade of "D" in high school
- h. Being older than 18 years at graduation from high school

Many of the factors which were positively associated with becoming a white-collar worker were negatively associated with becoming a manual worker—for example, high income, parental aid, education after leaving high school. The factors in the above list tend to fall into the same three types suggested for white-collar workers—requirements, oppor-

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<sup>16</sup> To use the local idiom for the process

tunity, desire. Failure to meet the requirements for becoming a white-collar worker, lack of opportunity (parental aid, family income, father deceased), and lack of desire to become a white-collar worker appear to be the group of factors which explain why a youth becomes a manual worker.

*Being Unemployed* The smallness of the number of unemployed youth in the present study precludes an extensive analysis of the factors involved. Inability to secure employment was found to be associated with a short term of residence in the county and failure to graduate from high school. In the competition for jobs it is logical that individuals with these characteristics should experience the most difficulty. But it does not seem that these would be the only factors. Had it been possible to have a larger sample of unemployed youth, such factors as education, income, and father's occupation would undoubtedly have been found to be significant.

*Factors Not Related to the Occupational Adjustment of Youth.* Of the twenty-four factors used in the study, eight did not seem to be related to the occupational adjustment of youth in Whitman County. I.Q. scores were available for fewer than one-third of the sample. One-half of the students had no other choice than to take a "general course" in high school. Thus some of the factors might have been significantly related had the data been available. The factors which showed no association with any occupational category—whether for lack of relationship, lack of sufficient cases, or insufficient data—were as follows:

Education of mother

Previous occupation of mother

Size of high school attended

High school course taken

Part-time employment while in high school

Intelligence quotient

First job out of high school

Migration to cities of 10,000 or more to find work

#### CONCLUSION: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The technique used here in studying the occupations of the youth of Whitman County answers not only the question, "What occupations are the youths entering?" but also the more pertinent question, "What social characteristics caused the youth to enter the occupations they did?" The study has demonstrated that specific factors are associated with specific types of occupations.

By going one step beyond the "factoring" procedure of the present study, it would be possible to compute the probability of a given youth's entering each of the four occupational categories considered in this study. This would necessitate the correlation of each factor with each occupational category by the use of one of the more complex statistical devices. The weighting of each factor in proportion to its degree of correlation would make it possible to give each youth tested a relative rating, a "social background" score for each of the occupational groups.

The study has also an immediate practical value. Communities desirous of solving problems of unemployment, low income, and relief can ascertain, by using the procedure suggested by this study, not only *how many* youth, but *which* youth are experiencing these difficulties. By this factoring technique, the effect of vocational training programs, NYA programs, or any community project designed to better the occupational situation of the youth can be evaluated.

This study used only data which could be expressed quantitatively. Many everyday assumptions concerning the relation between occupations and social factors were thus tested and measured. The technique used here may be extended to apply not only to the large occupational categories, but with a much larger sample could be applied to the specific occupations as well. It would seem, also, that in the not-too-distant future this technique might be applied to the more subtle relationships--for example, those which exist between youths' attitudes and their choice of occupations.

Whether the conclusions of this study would still prevail in the light of the present defense program is not known. It would be interesting to take a new sample and ascertain what effects the defense program is having on the occupational adjustments of youth in this county. It might be suggested that, in order to study occupational trends, the high schools of Whitman county each fall gather such data as were used here. The information would be important for guidance programs.

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September 1941

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# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## THE REPUTATION OF JOHN DONNE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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It is well known that esteem for Donne's poetry increased markedly during the nineteenth century; but, even so, it is startling to encounter judgments so antithetical at these:

If it be true, that the purport of poetry should be to please, no author has written with such utter neglect of the rule. It is scarce possible for a human ear to endure the dissonance and discord of his couplets, and even when his thoughts are clothed in the melody of Pope, they appear to me hardly worth the decoration<sup>1</sup>

His metrical experiments have never even yet done all that they might for the loosening of metre. Such a line as

"Drown my world with my weeping earnestly,"

a line so beautiful, so expressive, so clear in scansion if one will only be content to read for the sense, has scarcely yet been recognized as a perfectly legitimate English verse. More than almost anyone, this "metaphysical" poet has written really direct love-poetry, and in every mood. And this poetry is full of "masculine persuasive force"; it has not, as the greater portion of love poetry has, a feminine pathos, but the passion of a man. The subtlety of great brain waits upon a "naked thinking heart", the result is a new kind of poetry, which Donne invented for himself and in which he has had no successor<sup>2</sup>

At first glance, it is difficult to believe that both passages refer to Donne, but, knowing that they do, one immediately realizes that the shift must have been due to the more than a century of change in critical attitudes and literary ideals that lay between them. Though true, this explanation is so general as to lack specific meaning; only by following the shift in detail can one learn much of significance concerning the fortunes of Donne. In addition, it is the more worth while to do so because thus are revealed many of the characteristic critical attitudes of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours* (London, 1798), p. 451

<sup>2</sup> *A Pageant of Elizabethan Poetry*, ed. Arthur Symonds (London, 1906), p. 390

At the outset, the reader must realize that these opinions are typical of their authors and, in general, of the times in which they were made. That the first reflects Nathan Drake's settled conviction appears from a passage in his *Shakspeare and His Times*, published almost twenty years after the *Literary Hours*:

A more refined age [than the seventeenth century, which had granted Donne "an extraordinary share of reputation"], however, and a more chastised taste, have very justly consigned his poetical labours to the shelf of the philologer. A total want of harmony in versification, and a total want of simplicity both in thought and expression, are the vital defects of Donne. Wit he has in abundance, and even erudition, but they are miserably misplaced, and even his amatory pieces exhibit little else than cold conceits and metaphysical subtleties. He may be considered as one of the principal establishers of a school of poetry founded on the worst Italian model.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, little reading of Drake's contemporaries is needed to prove his pronouncements and his tone of forthright heartiness characteristic of his day; it would appear that most writers then differed from him chiefly in the words they chose. Southey, for example, was at that time almost equally emphatic:

The metaphysical poetry gained ground, and seduced many men whose quick and shaping fancy might else have produced works worthy of immortality. Donne could never have become a Poet, unless Apollo, taking his ears under his divine care, would have wrought as miraculous a change in their internal structure, as of old he wrought in the external of those of Midas. The power of versifying is a distinct talent, and a metrical ear has little more connexion with intellect than a musical one. Of this Donne is a sufficient example.<sup>2</sup>

Comparable was the opinion of Southey's protegee, Henry Kirke White:

Donne had not music enough to render his broken rhyming couplets sufferable, and neither his wit, nor his pointed satire, were sufficient to rescue him from that neglect which his uncouth and rugged versification speedily superinduced.<sup>3</sup>

In his life of Dryden, Scott's passing remarks were of the same tenor.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it is rare to find a voice raised in excuse—let alone praise—of Donne during the first decade of that century. Though White, for ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Shakspeare and His Times* (London, 1817), I, 615. Cp. *Literary Hours*, pp. 469 f. "As it is presumed that no person can possess a taste so singular, and I may add, so perverted, as to esteem Donne, Marston or even Hall, superior to Churchill and Anstey any considerable comment on this province of the art [satire] will be readily dispensed with."

<sup>2</sup> *Specimens of the Later English Poets* (London, 1807), I, xxiv f.

<sup>3</sup> *Remains*, ed. Southey, 11th ed. (London, 1825), p. 433.

<sup>4</sup> See Margaret Ball, *Sir Walter Scott as a Critic of Literature* (New York, 1907), pp. 61 f.

ample, alluded to his wit and pointed satire and Chalmers mentioned his extensive reading, objecting to the injustice of including "the whole of his poetry under the general censure which has usually been passed,"<sup>7</sup> adverse opinions then predominated.

Conversely, about 1900, the tendency was to praise enthusiastically or, at least, to mention faults concessively and emphasize virtues. Further quotations from Symons and his contemporaries would show that he was as representative of the last years of the century as was Drake of the first; but the prevalence of his attitude will become increasingly clear as the reader progresses. Furthermore, one may do better than quote individuals to show the esteem then felt for Donne's works; more convincing evidence of several sorts is available. One is the influence of Donne upon certain of the twentieth-century poets<sup>8</sup>; such influence does not spring up in a decade,<sup>9</sup> nor are the familiarity and admiration which engender it confined to those reflecting those qualities in published works. Another is the record of editions; after a dearth of reprintings during the eighteenth century, the next hundred years found editors and publishers in growing numbers who risked time and money in the belief that the works of Donne were once more welcome to the reading public.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, representation in a procession of

<sup>7</sup> *Works of the English Poets*, ed Johnson and Chalmers (London, 1810), V, 124.

<sup>8</sup> See T. S. Eliot, "Donne in Our Time," *A Garland for John Donne* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 3-19; George Williamson, "Donne and the Poetry of Today," *ibid.*, pp. 155-76; F. R. Leavis, "The Influence of John Donne on Modern Poetry," *London Bookman*, LXXIX (1931), 346-47. Christopher Morley observed ("The Bowling Green," *Saturday Review of Literature*, May 1, 1937) that "it is not surprising that in the last twenty years John Donne has been the most influential poet in English." Also of interest in this connection are "Donne and Rupert Brooke," *Saturday Review of Literature*, May 9, 1936; A. D. Ficke's "Soul in Torment" (*Forum*, LXXXVIII [1932], p. 151); Robert Hillyer's "A Letter to Robert Frost" (*Atlantic Monthly*, CLVIII [1936], p. 159); Sacheverell Sitwell's *Dr Donne and Gargantua*, and Aldous Huxley's "Fifth Philosopher's Song." The number of volumes recently titled from Donne is likewise revealing: e.g., Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and Dorothy Parker's *After Such Pleasures*.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Thompson is just enough earlier to prove an interesting example here; see R. L. Mégroz, *Francis Thompson: The Poet of Earth in Heaven* (London, 1927), pp. 49, 59, 151, 154, 159; Arthur Symons, "Francis Thompson," *Dramatis Personae* (Indianapolis, 1923), pp. 159, 166, 169, 181. See also p. xxvii of Saintsbury's introduction to E. K. Chambers' "Muses' Library" edition.

<sup>10</sup> See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne*, 2nd ed (Cambridge, 1932). Arnold Bennett provided an interesting indication of the status of Donne's reputation late in the century by his inclusion of Donne's poetry in his list of the more than three hundred volumes requisite to a "reasonably complete English library" (*Literary Taste: How to Form It, with Detailed Instructions for Collecting a Complete Library of English Literature*).

anthologies demonstrates the growing conviction that he wrote some fine verse, at least a part of which was suitable fare for the general readers of poetry.<sup>11</sup> By 1900 the bulk of his work had been made available to any who wished to read it. In addition, increased representation of Donne in successive editions of handbooks of familiar quotations points to steadily increasing popularity<sup>12</sup>; and phrases casually borrowed by essayists, diarists, and letter writers suggest that the borrowers were more than casually familiar with his work. One cannot know how general this practice of borrowing was, but what material of this sort has been published supplies clear indications of the number and sort of persons who sought an apt phrase now and then in Donne. Lamb,<sup>13</sup> Southey,<sup>14</sup> Bronson Alcott,<sup>15</sup> Thoreau,<sup>16</sup> and both the

<sup>11</sup> In the following partial list of such works, the figure in parentheses indicates the number of pieces reprinted, either wholly or in part: *The English Anthology*, [ed Joseph Ritson], London, 1793 (1), *Shakspearean Miscellany*, London, 1802 (2), Thomas Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets*, London, 1819 (4), *Sacred Specimens, Selected from the Early English Poets*, ed Rev John Mitford, London, 1827 (1); *Select Works of the British Poets*, ed Southey, London, 1831, *The Sacred Classics*, ed Cattermole and Stebbing, London, 1836 (4 sermons and 13 poems), *Gems of Sacred Poetry*, [ed Edward Farr], London, 1841 (7), Robert Chambers, *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, Edinburgh, 1844 (4), *Select Poetry, Chiefly Sacred, of the Reign of King James the First*, ed Edward Farr, Cambridge, 1847 (17), George Gilfillan, *Book of British Poetry*, London, 1851 (2), *The Sacred Poets of England and America for Three Centuries*, ed Rufus W Griswold, New York, 1857 (7); *Household Book of Poetry*, ed Charles A Dana, New York, 1857 (2); George Gilfillan, *Specimens with Memoirs of the Less-Known British Poets*, Edinburgh, 1860 (17), *Gleanings from the English Poets*, Edinburgh, 1862 (1), *English Sacred Poetry of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed Robert A Willmott, London, 1862, (2); *Household Book of English Poetry*, ed Richard C Trench, London, 1868 (3), *Parnassus*, ed R W Emerson, Boston and New York, c 1874 (9); *New Library of Poetry and Song*, ed William Cullen Bryant (5), *English Poets*, ed Thomas H Ward, London, 1880 (5), *English Lyrics*, London, 1885 (4), F T Palgrave, *Treasury of Sacred Song*, Oxford, 1889 (4), *Paradise of English Poetry*, ed H C Beeching, London, 1893 (19); *Choice English Lyrics*, ed James Baldwin, Boston, 1894 (1), *Book of Elizabethan Lyrics*, ed F E Schelling, New York, 1895 (8), *Lyra Sacra*, ed H C Beeching, London, 1895 (12); *Gems of National Poetry*, ed Mrs Valentine, London and New York, 1895 (3); *Library of the World's Best Literature*, ed Charles Dudley Warner, New York, 1896 (5); Alice Meynell, *The Flower of the Mind*, London, 1897 (4); *Standard English Poems*, ed H S Pancoast, New York, 1899 (4).

<sup>12</sup> The 1856 edition of Bartlett contained two fragments attributed to Donne, the 1875 revision four, and the 1937 edition twenty; the 1854 edition of Grocott contained none and the 1890 edition four. See also Allibone's *Poetical Quotations from Chaucer to Tennyson* (90), the same editor's *Prose Quotations from Socrates to Macaulay* (1), and R H Stoddard's *Dictionary of Quotations from English and American Poets* (4).

<sup>13</sup> *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed E. V. Lucas (London, 1940), IV, 14, VII, 638.

<sup>14</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XXI (1819), 392; XXXVII (1828), 260; XLIII (1830), 555.

Brownings<sup>17</sup> are but a few. Though admittedly fragmentary, this evidence makes the situation clear; during the nineteenth century certain factors, operative with readers of the older English literature, resulted in a well-nigh complete revolution in the reputation of Donne. Discovery that Johnson's whipping boy for the Metaphysicals became the patron saint of some in these later days whets the curiosity as to the processes and causes of this canonization

## II

Perhaps one may best begin to study this revolution by surveying the opinions of critics concerning some of the most widely discussed points in the criticism of Donne. Then one can examine and evaluate causes more appreciatively.

From remarks already quoted, it may be suspected that early in the century many readers were distressed by Donne's meter. Their ears were too well adjusted to the exactnesses of those who had "got Pope's tune by heart" or the euphonies of Tom Moore not to be shocked by what they repetitiously called the ruggedness and harshness of his verse. In 1769 the Reverend J. Granger had pronounced Donne's "thoughts . . . much debased by his versification"<sup>18</sup>, and the remark appeared verbatim in the sixth edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and nearly so in Anderson's *Poets of Great Britain*.<sup>19</sup> Both he and Alexander Chalmers<sup>20</sup> approved of Dryden's suggestion that the satires

<sup>17</sup> *Tablets* (Boston, 1868), p. 132. See also Van Doren, *Henry David Thoreau* (Boston and New York, 1916), p. 102, and Alcott's remarks on Thoreau's verse (*Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Shepard [Boston, 1938], p. 214). "Poems are here also, vigorous and rugged enough to defy Quarles or Donne, and as sound and seasonable as theirs, as if, in some mood of great exuberant frolic, the Muse had set the poet to rhyming the stumps and hedges into music."

<sup>18</sup> *Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Boston and New York, 1893), I, 352, 391, 441.

<sup>19</sup> *Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett* (New York and London, 1899), I, 27, 145, 195 f., 417, 437, II, 115, *Letters of Robert Browning Collected by Thomas J. Wise*, ed. Hood (New Haven, 1933), p. 205.

<sup>20</sup> *A Biographical History of England* (London, 1769), I, 312. For other judgments of Donne's meter than are mentioned here, see W. F. Melton, *The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 8-57.

<sup>21</sup> (London, 1793), IV, 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Loc. cit.* Henry Hart Milman (*Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral* [London, 1868], p. 324) agreed with Anderson that "his rough satires needed the clear style of Pope to make them, not pleasing only but even intelligible". Pope's polishing, however, is equally heartily condemned by Clyde Furst ("A Gentleman of King James's Day" in *A Group of Old Authors* [Philadelphia, 1899], p. 25) and Chalmers. Cf. James Hannay, *Satire and Satirists* (London, 1854), p. 117. Cf. note 29.

would benefit by translation "into numbers and English," and Anderson held that in Pope's version they "assume more dignity and appear more charming." Chalmers placed Donne "at the head of a class of very indifferent poets," remarking that his

numbers, if they may be so called, are certainly the most rugged and uncouth of any of our poets. He appears either to have had no ear, or to have been utterly regardless of harmony

Macaulay objected to his "tuneless numbers"<sup>21</sup>; and Mrs. A. B. Jame-son commented at length:

As a poet, it is probable that even readers of poetry know little of him, except from the lines at the bottoms of the pages in Pope's version, or rather translation, of his Satires, the very recollection of which is enough to "set one's ears on edge." It is this inconceivable harshness of versification, which has caused Donne to be so little read, except by those who make our old poetry their study. One of these critics has truly observed, that "there is scarce a writer in our language who has so thoroughly mixed up the good and the bad together." What is good, is the result of truth, of passion, of a strong mind, and a brilliant wit: what is bad, is the effect of a most perverse taste, and total want of harmony.<sup>22</sup>

Landor described him as "frost-bitten and lumbaginous," hobbling on "with verses gnarl'd and knotted"<sup>23</sup>, Henry Hallam labelled him "the most inharmonious of our versifiers" and immediately added, "if he can be said to have deserved such a name by lines too rugged to seem metre"<sup>24</sup>, and even so late as 1868 George Macdonald described his lines as

harsh and unmusical beyond the worst that one would imagine fit to be called verse. He enjoys the unenviable distinction of having no rival in ruggedness of metric movement and associated sounds.<sup>25</sup>

It is clear that tunefulness, or at least a greater fund of melody than was found in Donne, was part of the poetic creed of the early nineteenth century.

On the other hand, from the time of Southey, the tendency grew to defend Donne's meter stoutly, to find virtues where others heard only vices. Southey himself, in spite of his earlier pronouncement, objected

<sup>21</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XLVII (1828), p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Loves of the Poets* (London, 1829), II, 94 f. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* (XXXII [1825], 290 f.) selected Donne's verse to exemplify "the rudest of the rude."

<sup>23</sup> "A Satire on Satirists," l. 111.

<sup>24</sup> *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (London, 1839), III, 493

<sup>25</sup> *England's Antiphon* (New York, n.d.), p. 115. Macdonald, however, granted that his metrical infelicities must have been due to indifference

to Chalmers's condemnation of Donne's roughness, explaining that he had "in many places shown that he possessed the diction as well as the feeling of a poet" and that "the ruggedness of his satires is evidently designed as an imitation of Horace."<sup>26</sup> Coleridge insisted that

the sense, including the passion, leads to the metre. Read even Donne's satires as he meant them to be read and as the sense and passion demand, and you will find in the lines a manly harmony<sup>27</sup>,

he even suggested that, where proper attention to the meaning and emotion does not yield a true rhythm, the text must be corrupt.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, the author of a significantly sympathetic article in the *Retrospective Review*<sup>29</sup> found in him "an exquisite ear for the melody of versification," and added that the "Valediction· forbidding mourning," because of "a passionate sweetness and softness in the versification, . . . might have been written in the present day, and may satisfy the ear of the most fastidious of modern readers." The writer on Donne in the *Penny Encyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* courageously expressed the view that though "what he has composed in the heroic measure is painfully uncouth and barbarous," "many of the pieces of Donne, written in lyric measures, are absolute music."<sup>30</sup> Another critic wrote that "the most faithful and disciplined lovers of the muse," with whom "Donne will always be a peculiar fav-

<sup>26</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XI (1814), 487. One would like to know the reason for this change of opinion and whether it was early enough to allow Southey to feel complimented at the comparison of the verse of his *Curse of Kehama* (*Quarterly Review*, V [1811], 44) "to the pindarics of Donne and Cowley, a measure which, if it sometimes disappoints the ear, does at others form the happiest and most beautiful combinations of harmony, and is, upon the whole, by its very wildness, excellently suited to the strange and irregular descriptions which it is employed to convey." The completeness of Southey's change of opinion is also somewhat questionable, inasmuch as, in his edition of *Select Works of the British Poets* (London, 1831), he opined that Donne's son should, instead of publishing, have destroyed a considerable part of his poetry.

<sup>27</sup> *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed T. M. Raysor (Cambridge, 1936), p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed Derwent Coleridge (London, 1853), pp. 249 f.

<sup>29</sup> VIII (1823), 31 ff. He gave enthusiastic praise to the verse of "The good-morrow" and "The Message" and to "Elegie XVI" for "the rich and pompous flow of the verse, and the fine harmony of its music." Of Pope's version of the satires, which in the original "are as rough and rugged as the unhewn stones that have just been blasted from their native quarry," he wrote "The brilliant and refined modern attempted to give his readers an idea of Donne, by changing his roughness into smoothness, and polishing down his force into point. In fact, he altered Donne into Pope—which was a mere impertinence. Each is admirable in his own way—quite enough so to make it impossible to change either with advantage, into a likeness of any other."

<sup>30</sup> London, 1837.



ourite," would pardon his ordinary versification, "about the very ruggedest that ever has been written," because "no sacrifice of meaning is ever made to it"<sup>81</sup>; a third excused the vice because the verses are "full of as much nature and real feeling, as sincerity ever put into a true passion"<sup>82</sup>, and a fourth suggested that Donne "was an intentional innovator upon the smoothness of some of the writers of his time, though his iconoclastic impulse often led him woefully astray."<sup>83</sup> Alford noted in him "a fine musical ear" and attributed the harshness of his lines to his "labour of compression,"<sup>84</sup> and Craik to his intention that they be "invincibly impracticable" to the "sec-saw style of reading verse," to his having deprived "them of all over-sweetness or liquidity," and to his wish "to bring a deeper, more expressive music out of [the language] than it would readily yield"<sup>85</sup> Gosse followed this lead, commenting upon Donne's "bursts of melodious passion," attributing the harshness of his verse to his conscious rebellion against the sweetness and smoothness of earlier and contemporary work<sup>86</sup> and elsewhere remarking that

He taught the poets to regard mellifluousness with suspicion, if it concealed poverty of thought, and to be more anxious to find words, even stumbling and harsh words, for their personal emotions, than to slip over the surface of language in a conventional sweetness"

<sup>81</sup> "Gallery of Poets John Donne," *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine*, I (1846), 230, 234 The versification of "A Valediction forbidding mourning" is "generally good, and, sometimes, exquisite"

<sup>82</sup> Leigh Hunt, *The Town* (London, 1848), II, 47

<sup>83</sup> H. M. Sanders, "Dr Donne," *Temple Bar*, CXXI (1900), 624 Cp Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne* (New York, 1899), II, 334 f and Saintsbury, *op cit*, I, xxiv ff

<sup>84</sup> *Works of John Donne, D D*, ed Alford (London, 1839), I, xxvi f

<sup>85</sup> *Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England* (London, 1844-45), III, 170 ff Craik's words "a deep and subtle music, in which the cadences respond to the sentiment, when enunciated with a true feeling of all that they convey" seem to echo Coleridge's opinion Craik repeated all these judgments in his *Compendious History of English Literature* (London, 1861), I, 553 f Cp Furst, *op cit*, pp 15, 27 Later John W Hales (*English Poets*, ed Ward, I, 560) and Gamaliel Bradford (*A Naturalist of Souls* [Boston and New York, 1926], pp. 80 ff) also pronounced his roughness intentional In the "Holy Sonnets" J W. Chadwick ("John Donne, Poet and Preacher," *New World*, IX [1900], 46) thought Donne "less the conscious rebel than he was against melodious verse" and on the next page expressed the opinion that the "Hymn to God the Father" "has an inherent music which is sufficiently impressive."

<sup>86</sup> *Jacobean Poets* (London, 1894), pp 61-63, 65

<sup>87</sup> *More Books on the Table* (London, 1923), pp 311 f. Cp Swinburne's high praise of the *Anniversaries* in a letter to Theodore Watts-Dunton (*Autobiographical Notes with Critical Comments upon Donne's "Anniversaries" and Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors"* [London, 1920], p 19).

Clearly, a revolution of opinion concerning Donne's meter was in progress during this century, but it is equally clear that its promoters were not of the majority during most of the time.

### III

Donne's diction was likewise widely discussed, frequently with adverse conclusions. To be sure, Southey thought that he had "in many places shown that he possessed the diction as well as the feeling of a poet"<sup>38</sup>, H. C. Beeching judged "the expression, if recondite, often singularly telling and beautiful"<sup>39</sup>, Gilfillan believed that Donne and the other members of his group "have, perhaps *in spite of* their own system, attained a rare grandeur of thought and language"<sup>40</sup>, and Coleridge found in the second stanza of *The Progress of the Soul* "the legitimate language of poetic fervor self-impassioned,"<sup>41</sup> and remarked elsewhere:

One great distinction, I appeared to myself to see plainly, between even the characteristic faults of our older poets, and the false beauty of the moderns. In the former, from Donne to Cowley, we find the most fantastic out-of-the-way thoughts, but in the most pure and genuine mother English, in the latter, the most obvious thoughts, in language the most fantastic and arbitrary.<sup>42</sup>

But these men were far from typical; usually, critics throughout the century spoke of his "fantastic garb of language,"<sup>43</sup> his "alembicated verbiage,"<sup>44</sup> or his "obscure and knotty language."<sup>45</sup> Hartley Coleridge charged that he coined "hard words, not found in polyglots"<sup>46</sup>, Robert Chambers that he used "natural language, and natural imagery and passion" "only by chance"<sup>47</sup>, and H. M. Sanders that he stuffed

<sup>38</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XI (1814), 487.

<sup>39</sup> *Lyra Sacra*, p. 339.

<sup>40</sup> *Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw and Quarles' Emblems*, ed. Gilfillan (Edinburgh, 1857), p. xvi.

<sup>41</sup> J. W. Mackail, *Coleridge's Literary Criticism* (London, 1918), p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, ed. Shawcross (Oxford, 1907), I, 15. Dryden, it will be recalled, had compared Cleveland and Donne in these terms (*Essays*, ed. Kerr, I, 52): "So that there is this difference betwixt his *Satires* and doctor Donne's, that the one gives us deep thoughts in common language, though rough cadence, the other gives us common thoughts in abstruse words."

<sup>43</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. (Edinburgh, 1877). This writer also alluded to Donne's "sudden daring phrases that have the full perfume of poetry in them."

<sup>44</sup> Gosse, *Jacobean Poets*, p. 60. On pp. 51 f. Gosse spoke of the satires as showing "a tortured and even absolutely licentious and erroneous conception of the use of language."

<sup>45</sup> *Complete Poetical Works of Hartley Coleridge*, ed. Colles (London, n.d.), p. 321.

<sup>46</sup> *History of the English Language and Literature* (Hartford, 1837), p. 41.

"out his vocabulary with the scientific phraseology of his day, a day whose science is as dead as the terms it employed."<sup>47</sup> Not until our own century was the view widely held that "Donne effected not only a development, but a reform, of the language," that his "language is always pure and simple."<sup>48</sup>

## IV

Like his meter and diction, Donne's obscurity, whether due to his thought or its expression, excited varied but chiefly unfavorable comment. Hazlitt regarded his poems as "quaint riddles in verse, which the Sphinx could not unravel,"<sup>49</sup> and elsewhere pungently remarked that "his Muse suffers continual pangs and throes. His thoughts are delivered by the Caesarean operation."<sup>50</sup> For some of Hazlitt's associates, too, his "meaning was often quite as *uncomestable*, without a personal citation from the dead, as that of any of his contemporaries."<sup>51</sup> Later, G. L. Craik commented upon this feature:

On a superficial inspection, Donne's verses look like so many riddles. They seem to be written upon the principle of making the meaning as difficult to be found out as possible—of using all the resources of language, not to express thought, but to conceal it. Nothing is said in a direct, natural manner, conceit follows conceit without intermission; the most remote analogies, the most far-fetched images, the most unexpected turns, one after another, surprise and often puzzle the understanding; while things of the most opposite kinds—the harsh and the harmonious, the graceful and the grotesque, the grave and the gay, the pious and the profane—meet and mingle in the strangest of dances.<sup>52</sup>

Even so late as 1897 Jessopp, who had "never been able to feel much enthusiasm for Donne as a poet," explained that in later Elizabethan verse

there was a continual striving for effect—a taste for the fantastic, which by no means discouraged obscurity in diction, when the substance was often subordinated to the form, and the thought wrapped up in verbiage, which sometimes rather concealed than expressed it in harmonious language. Donne, in his earlier writings, may be said to have fallen into the sins of his time.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Temple Bar*, loc. cit., p. 626.

<sup>48</sup> T. S. Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 16; see also G. Williamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f.

<sup>49</sup> *Collected Works*, ed. Waller and Glover (London, 1902-06), V, 82.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 49 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 28.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 168 f. Cp. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, II, 6.

<sup>53</sup> John Donne, *Sometime Dean of St. Paul's* (London, 1897), pp. viii, 18. Other comments to much the same purpose are found in *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), 339; *Quarterly Review*, CLIII (1882), 443; Alfred H. Welsh, *Develop-*

Relatively early in the century, on the other hand, there was a clear effort to excuse, justify, or even praise this aspect of Donne's work. The editors of the *Sacred Classics*, for example, wrote with considerable vigor:

Admitting that he is frequently rugged and sometimes obscure, the judicious critic will yet not deny to this once favourite writer, the praise of a true and often a delightful poet; nor will it surprise him, that more than is needful has been said on both points, in times which abound with readers more capable of relishing voluptuous sweetness of language than of appreciating depth of sentiment and originality of thought; and ignorant that it is necessary to reflect on what is read, if we would correctly judge and effectually profit.<sup>54</sup>

Of this tradition were, among others, Jessopp,<sup>55</sup> Sanders,<sup>56</sup> Gosse,<sup>57</sup> Saintsbury,<sup>58</sup> and Swinburne,<sup>59</sup> who described his "miscalled obscurity" as "dark only to the rapid reader through closeness and subtlety of thought" and in reality "often 'all glorious within.'" Finally, in 1895, Professor Schelling forthrightly commended those who still regarded Donne as obscure "to an examination of facts which are within the reach of all, and, secondly, to an honest study of his works."<sup>60</sup> The tone of these words suggests that Donne's defenders were gaining strength and assurance.

## V

Not unnaturally, many critics commented, some heatedly, on Donne's figures of speech, particularly the "extravagant conceits which to

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*ment of English Literature and Language* (Chicago, 1882), I, 412; Dowden, *New Studies in Literature* (London, 1902), pp 91 f.; and Bradford, *Journal*, ed. Brooks (New York, 1933), p. 83

<sup>54</sup> XXVI, 52 The previously quoted writer in the *Retrospective Review* exemplified a mild form of this attitude; he alluded repeatedly to Donne's obscurity, suggested that his contemporary readers admired him "not in spite of his impenetrable obscurity, but because of it," and finally, though still regarding them "as unequivocal faults," attributed the difficulty of at least some of the passages to "the extreme condensation of expression"

<sup>55</sup> *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Jessopp (London, 1855), p. xviii The faults are those "of a man who has more power than he knows how to manage, certainly not those of one who is aiming at an originality which he does not possess."

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 626. It is "not the obscurity of meaninglessness, but of too much meaning"

<sup>57</sup> *Jacobean Poets*, p. 48. "In estimating the poetry of the Jacobean age, therefore, there is no writer who demands more careful study than this enigmatical and subterranean master, this veiled Isis whose utterances outweigh the oracles of all the visible gods."

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, xvii.

<sup>59</sup> *Age of Shakespeare* (New York and London, 1908) p. 257

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxi. See also Furst, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

the last were his besetting sin."<sup>61</sup> Macaulay found Donne's "grotesque" figures especially objectionable because they dealt with serious subjects<sup>62</sup>; Milman characterized them as "incongruous" and "laborious,"<sup>63</sup> and Welsh as a mark of decadence.<sup>64</sup> Chalmers held his conceits responsible for his being "at the head of a class of very indifferent poets"<sup>65</sup>; and Hallam thought that they lacked "even the merit of being intelligible."<sup>66</sup> Edwin P. Whipple even went so far as to seek—and find—in them an explanation for flaws in the character of "this voluptuary of intellectual conceits":

His poems, or rather his metrical problems, are obscure in thought, rugged in versification, and full of conceits which are intended to surprise rather than to please, but they still exhibit a power of intellect, both analytical and analogical, competent at once to separate the minutest and connect the

<sup>61</sup> Chadwick, *loc cit*

<sup>62</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, LVIII (1833), 233 Cp Gosse, *Life and Letters*, II, 341

<sup>63</sup> *Loc cit*

<sup>64</sup> *Loc cit* Other typical comments of those who considered his conceits a chief flaw in Donne's verse may be cited

"We see that far-fetched similes, extravagant metaphors, are not here the occasional blemishes, but the substance. He should have given us simple images, simply expressed, but fashion was stronger than nature" (Welsh, *op cit*, I, 413)

"No sooner has he kindled the fancy with a splendid thought, than it is as instantly quenched in a cloud of cold and obscure conceits." (Jameson, *op cit*, II, 94)

"His poetry is greatly deteriorated, and rendered perhaps altogether unpalatable to the reader of the modern school, by the vice of his day, the sedulous pursuit of far-fetched quaint conceits" (*The Loseley Manuscripts*, ed Alfred John Kempe [London, 1836], pp 325 f)

"His verse teems with forced comparisons and analogies between things remarkable for their dissimilarity. An obscure likeness and a worthless conceit were as important to him as was the problem of existence to Hamlet" (Ruben Post Halleck, *History of English Literature* [New York, 1900], pp 186 f)

See also *Quarterly Review*, CXXVI (1869), 237, *Lyra Sacra*, p 339; *Works of the English Poets*, ed Johnson and Chalmers, V, 123, J B Lightfoot, "Donne, the Poet-Precacher" in *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, introduction by John Edward Kempe (London, 1877), p 4, H A Taine, *History of English Literature* (New York, 1873), pp 145 f.; Drake as quoted on p 140, Macdonald, *op cit*, pp 122, 164; and Robert Chambers, *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, I, 109. Gosse (*More Books on the Table*, p 309), in alluding to Donne's habit of illustrating spiritual phenomena by imagery drawn from common experience, remarked that "there was a constant temptation to employ an excess of ingenuity in the use of this imagery, which was deliberately heightened so as to startle the reader and to rivet his attention."

<sup>65</sup> *General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1812-17), XII, 255

<sup>66</sup> *Loc cit* For Hazlitt (*ed cit*, VIII, 50), "the poetry of this period . . . was the logic of the schools, or an oblique and forced construction of dry, literal matter-of-fact, decked out in a robe of glittering conceits, and clogged with the halting shackles of verse."

remotest ideas. This power, while it might not have given his poems grace, sweetness, freshness, and melody, would still, if properly directed, have made them valuable for their thoughts; but in the case of Donne it is perverted to the production of what is *bizarre* or unnatural, and his muse is thus as hostile to use as to beauty. The intention is, not to idealize what is true, but to display the writer's skill and wit in giving a show of reason to what is false. The effect of this on the moral character of Donne was pernicious. A subtle intellectual scepticism, which weakened will, divorced thought from action and literature from life, and made existence a puzzle and a dream, resulted from this perversion of his intellect."

In fact, even those who were, in general, disposed to approve of Donne's work were likely to condemn his figures severely. In the *Retrospective Review* the writer already quoted remarked:

The scholastic habits of Donne's intellect also, without weakening his sensibility, contributed greatly to deform and denaturalize its outward manifestations. It was not the fashion of the time for a scholar and a poet to express himself as other people would; for if he had done so, what would he or the world have derived from his poetry or his scholarship. Accordingly, however intense a feeling might be, or however noble a thought, it was to be heightened and illustrated, in the expression of it, by clustering about it a host of images and associations (congruous or not, as might happen), which memory or imagination, assisted by the most quick-eyed wit, or the most subtle ingenuity, could in any way contrive to link to it—thus pressing the original thought or sentiment to death, and hiding even the form of it, beneath a profusion of superfluous dress. This was the crying fault of all the minor poets of the Elizabethan age, and of Donne more than of any other."

Lamb, ardent admirer of Donne that he was, had sometimes to look through the very thickest of his conceits to discern "a warmth of soul and generous feeling"<sup>60</sup>, and Gosse complained of finding the "most exquisite images" lying "side by side with monstrous conceits and ugly pedantries."<sup>70</sup>

To the very end of the period, little praise was given this feature of Donne's work; and that little was faint-hearted. One writer sought to justify the conceits "as a corrective to [the] excessive warmth" of "some of his amatory pieces,"<sup>71</sup> a corrective many felt was sadly

<sup>60</sup> *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (Boston and New York, 1888), pp 231 f.

<sup>61</sup> *Op cit*, pp 31 f, 43, 48.

<sup>62</sup> As quoted by Grosart in his edition of Donne (Fuller Worthies' Library [Printed for private circulation, 1872], II, xlvii).

<sup>63</sup> *Jacobean Poets*, p 60. See also Browning, *Letters*, I, 437, Bradford, *Naturalist*, p 76.

<sup>64</sup> *Penny Encyclopaedia*

needed; and another to defend them thus:

Few of these forms of poetry [comic songs, satires, and epistles] produced much that is valuable except historically, yet it would be an unjust opinion which, from the nature of their themes, ranked them below the narratives and pastorals, in which so much ordinary verse under Elizabeth displayed itself. Their aim indeed is less distinctly poetical; but their result was to bring poetry into vital connection with real life in all its phases; thus commencing those lessons of sobriety and simplicity in thought which the English mind so eminently needed. Even the rank luxuriance then displayed in the qualities most opposed to these—conceit and affectation— . . . tended in the same direction. For the earlier conceits lie more in imaginative embroidery—those of Cowley, Donne, and Cartwright in fanciful and overstrained thought. By this change the disease reached the last stage of its career, and, by seizing on the intellect rather than the imagination, worked itself out of poetry.<sup>72</sup>

But for the discovery of much intrinsic good, Donne's conceits had to wait beyond the nineteenth century.

## VI

On the predominance of intellect in Donne's work few critics failed to comment. He had "the mind of the dialectician, of the intellectual adventurer,"<sup>73</sup> combining "all the virtues and all the vices of the imaginative intellect"<sup>74</sup>; one of the tokens of his presence was "an habitual transmutation of emotion into terms of the intellect."<sup>75</sup> Other more subjective critics abstained less carefully from praise or blame. Coleridge remarked that

Our faulty elder poets [from Donne to Cowley] sacrificed the passion and passionate flow of poetry, to the subtleties of intellect, and to the starts of wit; the moderns to the glare and glitter of a perpetual, yet broken and heterogeneous imagery, or rather to an amphibious something, made up, half of image, and half of abstract meaning. The one sacrificed the heart to the head, the other both heart and head to point and drapery.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Quarterly Review*, CX (1861), 455 f. See also Andrew Lang, *History of English Literature* (New York, 1912), pp. 285, 288; Dowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 f., 102, Ezekiel Sanford, *Works of the British Poets* (Philadelphia, 1819), III, 137. In contrast, note De Quincey's spirited defence of the rhetorical features of Donne's work (*De Quincey's Literary Criticism*, ed. Darbishire [London, 1909], p. 50).

<sup>73</sup> Symonds, "John Donne," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXII (1899), 735. Elsewhere (*Pageant*, p. 390) Symonds referred to Donne's "monstrous agility of mind."

<sup>74</sup> Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies* (London, 1883), p. ix.

<sup>75</sup> Schelling, *Book of Seventeenth Century Lyrics* (New York, 1899), p. xix.

<sup>76</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, ed. cit., I, 15. Drake (see above, p. 140) regarded Donne's "metaphysical subtleties" as unmitigated defects. Dowden (*op. cit.*, p. 112) remarked that "on occasions he can write, at least for a line or two,

On this point David Masson's opinion is also interesting:

If there has been any single poet in the world who may stand to all time as an example of the genius of mental intellection at its utmost, he is John Donne . . . In him were gathered into one . . . all the tips and clippings of intellectual super-subtlety among the Elizabethans. . . . With much of the true poet in him, Donne was, most essentially, a wit, a subtle thinker and dialectician, using verse to assist him in his favourite mental exercise. . . . His poetry serves as an intellectual gymnastic, even where, as poetry, it can give but little pleasure. . . . In short, though we must regard Donne personally as an interesting study, and though we may admit also that in his hands the art of metrical cogitation with a view to novel combinations of ideas was exercised so superbly as almost to become the legitimate principle of a new variety of literature, we cannot but be glad that the avatar of Donne . . . was so brief and partial."

Masson appears to have been unable to think of Donne as a poet; and he was in company with many of whom it could be written, as it was recently of Scott:

The devious processes by which the cold intellect has sometimes tried to give fresh interest to familiar words and ideas . . . quite prevented him from seeing the passion in the work of Donne . . . , and he considered all metaphysical poets, in so far as they showed the traits of their class, to be without poetical feeling."

In direct contrast, Browning delighted in Donne for the very reason

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with a directness like that of Burns . . . . More often he is ingeniously subtle"; and R. W. B. (Temple Bar, III [1861], 87) considered Donne's figures essentially unpoetic, and perhaps not quite admirable even as prose. Cp Whipple (as quoted on p. 150 f.); Welsh, *loc. cit.*, and Anderson, *op. cit.*, IV, 5.

"*Life of John Milton*, revised edition (London, 1881), I, 485 ff. With this, compare De Quincey's opinion (*De Quincey's Literary Criticism*, p. 50) that Donne alone among our writers had succeeded in combining "the last sublimation of dialectical subtlety and address with the most impassioned majesty" and that from the combination had come almost a new species of composition. Hartley Coleridge (*Essays and Marginalia*, ed. Derwent Coleridge [London, 1851], I, 5) disliked the emphasis given the "speculative intellect" and the presence of "conceits and witticisms"; see too his poems (ed. Colles, pp. 320 ff.); Craik, *Compendious History*, I, 552; Welsh, *op. cit.*, I, 412.

"Margaret Ball, *loc. cit.* Likewise representative of this point of view are Leigh Hunt, who thought that Donne, "apart from accidental personal impressions," seemed "to look at nothing as it really is, but only as to what may be thought of it" (*What Is Poetry?*, ed. Cook [New York, 1926], p. 66), and Sanford, who wrote (*loc. cit.*): "Donne is considered as a great wit, a tolerable divine, and something of a poet. Poetry, indeed, in the highest sense of the word, he had none. He was more intent upon showing the acuteness of his penetration than the opulence of his fancy; and, instead of grouping and describing new objects, he sets himself laboriously at work to refine and analyze the old . . . . They [the results of his experiments] stimulate our reflection, and awaken our memory; but they seldom excite our feelings, or give play to the imagination. Of Donne it may be said that he was more witty than learned; and more learned than poetical."



that made him distasteful to Scott and Masson. As C. H. Herford hinted in discussing Browning's taste for the seventeenth-century Fantastics, a liking for close-knit intellect in poetry is crucial in one's attitude toward Donne<sup>70</sup> and it was "a congenial subtlety of intellect"<sup>70</sup> that led to Browning's regard for him. In this attitude, Browning had had forerunners in his own century and was to have not a few followers. Relatively early, a critic had spoken with assurance in the *Retro-spective Review*:

But the reader who is disposed to a perusal of the whole of this poet's works may be assured that this unpleasant effect will very soon wear off, and he will soon find great amusement and great exercise for his thinking faculties, (if nothing else) even in the objectionable parts of Donne, for he is always, when indulging in his very worst vein, filled to overflowing with thoughts, and materials for engendering thought.<sup>71</sup>

In 1846, another anonymous writer had, in *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine*, shown the mixed nature of this blessing so far as concerned Donne's reputation:

Another quality, equally against his popularity, is his profundity of thought, and the constant attention which is therefore required in order to understand him. Though his poems may be read once through, as a kind of disagreeable duty, by the professed student of English literature, they will be pored over, again and again, as true poetry should be, only by the most faithful and disciplined lovers of the muse.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, when Grosart edited the poems, with a dedication to Browning and several allusions to "how much [Donne's] poetry, with every abatement, is valued and assimilated by him," the brilliance of Donne's mind and the soundness of his thought were among his chief justifications.

<sup>70</sup> Robert Browning (New York, 1905), p. 8

<sup>71</sup> Leslie Stephen, "John Donne," *Studies of a Biographer* (New York and London, 1902), III, 36. See also F. R. G. Duckworth, *Browning Background and Conflict* (New York, 1932), p. 147, T. S. Eliot, *op cit*, p. 15, *New Statesman*, XX (1923), 660.

<sup>72</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 35 f. Elsewhere in the article, the writer characterized Donne's as "a most active and piercing intellect" (p. 31) and remarked that "his very worst pieces abound to overflowing" with a "remarkable fullness of thought and imagery" (p. 39). Lowell (Riverside edition of his works, I, 381) described Donne as one of the writers who "shed their invisible thought-seed like ferns", he likewise spoke of his mind as "one of the subtlest and most self-irradiating that even sought an outlet in verse" (*Wordsworthiana*, ed. Knight [London, 1889], p. 172). Saintsbury (*History of Elizabethan Literature* [London and New York, 1891], p. 150) thought "the force and originality of Donne's intellect," a quality which "modern satirists" lacked, peculiarly well displayed in his satires.

<sup>73</sup> *Loc cit*, p. 230

But, after all, I fear it must be conceded that it is as Thinker and Imaginator, and artist of ideas rather than words in verse, we have to assert Donne's incomparable genius.

His verse letters to the (then) Countess of Bedford and to Herbert Lord Cherbury, are laden with profound speculative and imaginative thought . . . One characteristic of this thinking is its sudden out-flashing from the common level of the subject in hand—a characteristic common to all Donne's poetry . . . So in this Poetry, even in the Satires, and indeed notably there, you are arrested by some quaint image or allusion, that is found to carry in its heart some splendid thought altogether out of the beaten track, and which comes with absolute surprise in the place.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps Grosart's attitude was scarcely typical, but correctly used, extremes are as indicative as means; and the truth is that late in the century more and more writers were willing to waive melliflence in order to enjoy Donne's thought.<sup>44</sup>

## VII

Integrally related to the intellectuality of Donne's verse is his wit. As most of the critics of this century approved Dryden's characterization of him as "the greatest wit, though not the best poet of our nation,"<sup>45</sup> Hartley Coleridge found few followers for his judgment:

I cannot think that Donne as a wit was at all to be compared to Butler, who exerted the most extraordinary power of volition over the greatest store and variety of thoughts and allusions of any writer, Rabelais perhaps excepted, that I ever read But Donne was an impassioned poet—Butler only a profound wit.<sup>46</sup>

Instead, writers who mentioned Donne's wit usually agreed to its presence and were content to distinguish themselves by the relation they saw between it and poetry. One group held them antithetical and

<sup>43</sup> *Op cit*, II, xxxiv, xlv Cp "Donne is not more remarkable for splendour of thought and imagery than for the inartistic lapses that disfigure many of his poems. Genius is there. The poet as creator, as thinker, is everywhere seen not so often the poet as workman" (Sanders, *op cit*, pp 622 f.)

<sup>44</sup> Some typical allusions may be cited "An intelligence at once deep and subtle" (*Poems of John Donne*, ed Lowell and Norton [New York, 1895], I, xxi), "a firm and strong mind, clear to a degree almost un-English" (*Library of the World's Best Literature*, VIII, 4771); and "he really belongs, by dint of his youthful sensuousness, of his imaginative flame, and of his sad and powerful thought, to the Elizabethans" (Stopford Brooke, *English Literature* [London, 1896], p 84. This passage did not appear in the 1876 edition.) See also Symons, as quoted above, p 139, Swinburne, *Autobiographical Notes*, p 19, and his *Age of Shakespeare*, p 257, and *Sacred Classics*, XXVI, 52. In fact, Gosse was quite of the minority of his time when he spoke (*Jacobean Poets*, pp 54, 60) of the epistles as "stuffed hard with thoughts" and of "the tortuousness and artificiality of the thought" of the lyrics.

<sup>45</sup> *Works*, ed Scott and Saintsbury, XI, 123

<sup>46</sup> *Essays and Marginalia*, II, 47

thought that Donne's wit prevented his being a poet, others admitted that he might be one in spite of it, and still others defined poetry broadly enough to consider wit a subordinate part of his poetic powers. Of the first group Sanford and Masson<sup>87</sup> were representative; and it will be recalled that Whipple even traced a weakness of Donne's character to his having developed his wit.<sup>88</sup> To the second group Leigh Hunt appears to have belonged; he described the wit of "Elegie XVI" as "horribly misused to obscure the most beautiful feelings."<sup>89</sup> Charles Lamb<sup>90</sup> leaned occasionally toward this view, which Coleridge also expressed when he included Donne among "our faulty elder poets" who had "sacrificed the passion and passionate flow of poetry, to the subtleties of intellect, and to the starts of wit"<sup>91</sup>; and Drake had written vigorously to the same effect.<sup>92</sup> A large number, however, held Donne's wit contributory to his poetic powers. The critic of the *Retrospective Review* listed "a wit, admirable as well for its caustic severity as its playful quickness" among the excellencies which, had he possessed a higher degree of sensibility and taste, would have made him "an accomplished poet of the second order."<sup>93</sup> Craik remarked that there was, running through all the bewilderment of the forbidding exterior of his verse, "not only a vein of the most exuberant wit, but often the sunniest and most delicate fancy, and the truest tenderness and depth of feeling,"<sup>94</sup> and Grosart quoted the remark with relish.<sup>95</sup> As the century ended, critics who took this view appeared more frequently.

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 153 and n. 78. Cp *Quarterly Review*, CLIII (1882), 443. Milman (*op cit*, p. 329) remarked that "what in those days was esteemed wit ran wild in his poetry and suffocated the graceful and passionate thoughts."

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 150 f.

<sup>89</sup> *The Town*, II, 50

<sup>90</sup> See above, p. 151

<sup>91</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>92</sup> *Shakspeare and His Times*, as quoted above, p. 140.

<sup>93</sup> *Op cit*, p. 31. The author of *Lectures on the English Poets* (London, 1847) alluded with approval to this judgment (p. 27); and in *The Library of Universal Knowledge, a Reprint of the Last* (1880) Edinburgh and London Edition of Chambers' *Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1882), the following appeared: "His fancy was rich and subtle, his wit singularly keen and poignant, and his word-painting such, that, if he had possessed in addition, music and sensibility, he would probably have enjoyed a perpetual popularity"

<sup>94</sup> *Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England*, III, 168. See also Anderson, *op. cit*, IV, 5.

<sup>95</sup> *Ed cit*, II, xlviii. Cp. Norton's statement in his edition, I, xviii.

## VIII

Between wit and ingenuity it is difficult to know what distinction—if any—was discerned; but as his wit met with growing appreciation and his ingenuity did not, it seems that some discrimination was attempted. That appearance, however, may be in part due to a tendency among those who approved of Donne's intellectual preoccupation to use *wit* because it was already hallowed as a poetic virtue and a corresponding one among those who disapproved to select *ingenuity* as a fresher, more specific term. At any rate, very strong objections were made to what was called Donne's ingenuity. Even the author of the critique in the *Retrospective Review* remarked that "The Prohibition" offers a singular specimen of the perverse ingenuity with which Donne sometimes bandies a thought about (like a shuttle-cock) from one hand to the other, only to let it fall to the ground at last,"<sup>99</sup>

and that "A Valediction: of weeping"

is, doubtless, 'high-fantastical,' in the last degree, but it is fine notwithstanding, and an evidence of something more than mere ingenuity"<sup>100</sup>

Concerning this feature, Hales' statement is unreserved:

This misspent learning, this excessive ingenuity, this laborious wit seriously mars almost the whole of Donne's work. For the most part we look on it with amazement rather than with pleasure. It reminds us rather of a 'pyrotechnic display,' with its unexpected flashes and explosions, than of a sure and constant light . . . We weary of such unmitigated cleverness—such ceaseless straining after novelty and surprise. We long for something simply thought and simply said."<sup>101</sup>

So too a writer in *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine* objected to Donne's "far-fetched, and often painfully ingenious illustrations,"<sup>102</sup> and even in 1900, Sanders complained that the earlier lyrics "are often desperately ingenious,"<sup>103</sup> and lack the naturalness and conviction of truth of the later poems. In fact, admitting that some part of Donne's work was not marred by ingenuity was about as far as nineteenth-century critics progressed.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 46. See also pp. 39, 48.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>101</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 559 f.

<sup>102</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228. Cp. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 77.

<sup>103</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 617. Cp. Saintsbury in the "Muses' Library" edition, I, xxvi.  
<sup>104</sup> A writer in the *North American Review* (LXXXIV [1857], 250 ff.) mentioned "great ingenuity of conception" as one of Donne's virtues, and Dowden (*op. cit.*, p. 113) explained that the fact that his love poems were "high-fantastical" "does not imply any coldness or insincerity." That, however, was Ultima Thule.

## IX

Concerning Donne's characteristic compression of thought, comment was more divergent. On this point Furst and Sanders presented representative opinions, the former remarking of the *Second Anniversary*.

Yet, paradoxical as it is, one of the striking characteristics of the work is the restraint by which the poet vividly suggests, in a few words, what another man would have made weak and ineffective by telling in many sentences<sup>100</sup>

In contrast, Sanders believed that this compression—or the necessity for it—led Donne into artistic pitfalls:

Even Donne's lyrics are full of thought. His difficulty in writing was not to spin out a slender fancy to the requisite number of lines, but (task harder, but how much more enviable!) to crush into poetic form the ideas and the emotions that thronged for utterance. In the lighter poems this is noticeable, and his skill is often unable or unwilling to take the trouble to subdue his materials to artistic repose, in poems avowedly addressed to the intellect, the defect is striking, deterrent, sometimes grotesque.

The same wealth of thought, and the same want of power properly to arrange and marshal and clothe and present it artistically, are the causes of Donne's much-talked-of obscurity. It is not the obscurity of meaninglessness, but of too much meaning<sup>101</sup>

## X

As nineteenth-century readers were so often averse to poetry of which they thought the main ingredients intellectual rather than emotional, their objection to the display of Donne's learning is not strange. Many<sup>102</sup> besides Drake considered his erudition "miserably misplaced"<sup>103</sup>; Chambers observed that he and his followers "were misled

<sup>100</sup> *Op cit*, p. 44. See also Norton, *ed cit*, I, xxiii.

<sup>101</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 625, 626.

<sup>102</sup> Charles D. Deshler, *Afternoons with the Poets* (New York, 1879), p. 123; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 6th ed.; Dowden, *op cit*, p. 91, *Retrospective Review*, loc. cit, p. 31. William Minto ("John Donne," *Nineteenth Century*, VII [1880], 848 f.) commented interestingly on the effect of Donne's learning upon his contemporary reputation. "The admiration which Donne's contemporaries expressed for him as a writer was doubtless largely influenced by the impression which he made upon them as a man. . . . Posterity judges [a writer] by what he has done—what he has finished and left behind him; the judgment of contemporaries is insensibly influenced by what they believe him capable of doing. The knowledge of Donne's immense learning, the subtlety and capacity of his intellect, the intense depth and wide scope of his thought, the charm of his conversation, the sadness of his life, gave a vivid meaning and interest to his poems . . . which at this distance of time we cannot reach without a certain effort of information."

<sup>103</sup> *Shakespeare and His Times*, I, 615. Cp. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 266.

by learning and false taste into such extravagances, both of idea and of language, as rendered all their better qualities nearly useless"<sup>106</sup>; and Chalmers that the frequent allusions to his extensive reading "only contribute to produce distorted images and wild conceits."<sup>107</sup> Several expressed the opinion that the intrusions of learning were pure pedantry:

The great secret of the merits and demerits of Donne's poetry is partly to be found in the insatiable desire for book-knowledge which at this period distinguished his genius. Almost unconsciously he became pedantic. Pedantry, coming into contact with a metaphysical habit of thought, soon made his language a puzzle to vulgar comprehension. He had always a meaning, sometimes a beautiful one, but it was too subtle to be easily detected.<sup>108</sup>

Hazlitt charged that the poets of his group "mistook learning for poetry"<sup>109</sup>, Macaulay objected to their having drawn their "illustrations from the laboratory and from the schools"<sup>110</sup>; and Sanford somewhat bluntly remarked that Donne was "more learned than poetical."<sup>111</sup> Though other qualities certainly aided, Beeching hit upon one cause of Donne's loss of reputation when he said that he "has paid the natural penalty of putting his learning into his poetry, the learning has dragged the poetry with it to oblivion."<sup>112</sup> This adverse judgment was almost unanimous, there were but few who went even so far as the cautious, anonymous gentleman whose "pages were not originally intended for the public eye, but were written for the instruction of the Author's children", his strongest praise was that Donne's "works, harsh and full of conceits as they are, have recently been praised, as displaying much learning and caustic wit, with a rich and picturesque fancy."<sup>113</sup>

## XI

In 1892 Gamaliel Bradford suggested extreme coarseness as one reason for Donne's unpopularity,<sup>114</sup> and there is every evidence that

<sup>106</sup> *History of the English Language and Literature*, pp. 41 f.

<sup>107</sup> *General Biographical Dictionary*, XII, 260. Hales wrote in much the same vein (*op. cit.*, I, 559).

<sup>108</sup> R. W. B. *Temple Bar*, *loc. cit.*, p. 83. Cp. Jameson, *op. cit.*, II, 94, "The First of the English Satirists," *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), 339; Gosse, *Jacobean Poets*, p. 60; *North American Review*, LXXXIV (1857), 250.

<sup>109</sup> *Id. cit.*, VIII, 49.

<sup>110</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, I.VIII (1833), 233.

<sup>111</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 137.

<sup>112</sup> *Paradise*, I, 303. It was the announced intention of the writer of the essay on Donne in the *Retrospective Review* (*loc. cit.*) "merely to bring to light some of the exquisite beauties which have hitherto lain concealed from the present age, among the learned as well as unlearned lumber which he has so unaccountably mixed up with them."

<sup>113</sup> *Lectures on the English Poets* (London, 1847), pp. 27 f.

he was right. To many, the impurity of Donne's work was clearly most distressing. Masson complained that

the most tolerant modern taste is apt to be offended by the grossly physical cast of the images Love in Donne's poetry is a physiological fact, susceptible of all kinds of metaphysical interpretations; his love verses are abstruse alternations between the fact and its metaphysical renderings; and that element in which most love poets dwell, the exquisite intermediate psychology, is all but wholly omitted. In other poems [besides "The Flea"] facts of the most putrid order are jumbled together with others of the most sacred associations.<sup>115</sup>

The group is impressively large who could not forgive Donne for revealing "too much erotic fervour,"<sup>116</sup> for allowing "his imagination to run loose into the most prurient expressions,"<sup>117</sup> for showing "a cold, hard, labored, intellectualized sensuality, worse than the worst impurity of his contemporaries."<sup>118</sup> A reviewer of Professor Child's edition of *The British Poets* judged that

For [Donne's] deserved credit on this latter count ["the perfection of sainthood" which Walton beheld in him], we could wish that the American editor had omitted some half-dozen of the poems of his somewhat graceless youth, in which obscenity is unrelieved by any charm, whether for the ear or the soul, and in general, while we would not carry our fastidiousness to the extreme of prudery, we can discern no fitness in perpetuating productions which serve the sole purpose of revealing the vileness of their authors or the coarseness of their times.<sup>119</sup>

The perturbation of the Reverend Alexander B. Grosart is almost amusing. In his preface he wrote:

I do not hide from myself that it needs courage to edit and print the Poetry of Dr John Donne in our day. Nor would I call it literary prudery that shrinks from giving publicity to such sensuous things (to say the least) as indubitably are found therein. I deplore that Poetry, in every way almost so memorable and potential, should be stained even to uncleanness in sorrowfully too many places.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *Naturalist*, p. 78.

<sup>116</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 488 f.

<sup>117</sup> *Penny Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Whipple, *op. cit.*, p. 231. For comparable attitudes, see "Dr. Donne," *Leisure Hour*, XIII (1864), 555; Jameson, *loc. cit.*; Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen* (Glasgow, 1835), III, 240; Gosse, *Jacobean Poets*, p. 56; *Poems of John Donne*, ed. Lowell and Norton, I, xxiii; Furst, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Thomas Campbell wrote (*Essay on English Poetry* [Boston, 1819], p. 146) "A romantic and uxorious lover, he addresses the object of his real tenderness with ideas that outrage decorum. He begins his own epithalamium with a most indelicate invocation to his bride."

<sup>120</sup> *North American Review*, LXXXIV (1857), 250.

<sup>121</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, ix.

He later explained that he included an elegy, identity unspecified, which he thought "sensual and abominable," only after he found, on consulting literary friends, "the judgment unanimous that an expurgated edition of Donne would be of no value to students of our Literature and Manners."<sup>121</sup> He took comfort, however, in thoughts that he did "not *publish* or throw open to all, but limit [ed] to fellow-booklovers and fellow-students, by a 'private circulation,'—a modified publicity" and that "those whom these Volumes may be assumed to reach are 'strong' enough to use them for literary purposes unhurt; and respect is due to 'strong' equally with the 'weak.'"<sup>122</sup>

Another group, conscious perhaps of Donne's exalted position in the church, minimized this distasteful element. Thus one critic confessed that "in some of his poems we meet with the language and sentiments of men whose morals are not very strict"<sup>123</sup>; another attempted to discount the sensuality as not autobiographical<sup>124</sup>, and yet another admitted "excess and overboldness in action," but only "an occasional coarseness of phrasing in his poems."<sup>125</sup> There was a tendency too to shift the blame from Dean Donne to "the times"<sup>126</sup> and to ask the reader to consider rather

the holiness and purity of his more mature years, than any reproach which report or his writings may have fixed on his youth; and with the charity which 'rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth,' [to] look rather

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 98.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ix. There was some tendency to bowdlerize in the *Retrospective Review* (*op cit.*, pp 47, 50, 51) it was said that "Sappho to Philaenis" would "not exactly bear quotation," even though it was the "most poetical, as well as the most characteristic, of the Epistles," and lines 31 to 43 were omitted from "Elegie XVI" and "Get with child a mandrake roote" from the "Song"; Milman (*op cit.*, p 326) left out the same lines from "Elegie XVI" as "too much in the spirit of the age" and marring "the exquisite delicacy as well as the feeling"; and Alford (*ed cit.*, I, vi) made what he considered suitable omissions from both poems and sermons in his edition *Cp Goase, Life and Letters*, I, 151.

<sup>123</sup> *Works of the English Poets*, ed. Johnson and Chalmers, V, 123.

<sup>124</sup> Dowden, *op cit.*, pp. 107 f. Lightfoot (*op cit.*, p 8) denounced Donne's crime of "prostituting the highest gifts of genius to a propaganda of vice and shame, . . . of poisoning the wells of a nation's literature and spreading moral death through generations yet unborn," and then comforted himself and his readers with a footnote reminder that "Donne was not in many cases responsible for the publication of his poems."

<sup>125</sup> *Library of the World's Best Literature*, VIII, 4771. An anonymous biographer (*Poetical Works of Dr John Donne* [Boston, 1855], p xviii) described "the more airy part of his poetical compositions" as "only the innocent amusement of his youth" *Cp R. W. B.*, *op cit.*

<sup>126</sup> *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine*, *loc cit.*, pp 229 f; *R W B.*, *op cit.*, p 90; *Library of the World's Best Literature*, VIII, 4773 "His grossness was the heritage of his time."



on those Sermons and Devotions, in which he has built himself and the church a lasting memorial, than on the few scattered leaves, which betray after all, perhaps, no more than simplicity and fearlessness of natural disposition, and that he showed what others have concealed<sup>107</sup>

Perhaps the extreme example of this tendency to "purify" Donne's life and works was provided by Alice King. She admitted, however unwillingly,

that at the period of his life of which we are now speaking, the period before God's grace had reached his soul, he threw himself passionately into the whirlpool of wild worldly pleasure. His laugh was loud at midnight revel, his step hastened daily to scenes of sensuous enjoyment, the wings of his spirit were, for a time, completely clogged by the dust and mire of earth.

She soon turned joyfully, however, to an edifying contemplation of his life after his marriage, which "family circumstances . . . caused to be a private one":

From that day forward Donne's home life was one long floating down a sunny river. Many children came to make the melody between the pair more and more full of sweet-toned harmony.<sup>108</sup>

She likewise admitted that "his poetry before he entered the Church is occasionally stained by some degree of license," but ended on the comforting thought that "all that vanishes in his later verse."

Clearly, only when an age came which could honestly defend or equally honestly disregard this element in Donne could his work enjoy full appreciation. Late in the century, a few signs of such an age appeared. Jusserand, viewing him from a point of vantage different from Grosart's or Masson's, described him as "sensual and epicurean to his heart's content, his being an open and triumphant epicureanism," and added that he had "the radiant impudicity of the antique gods."<sup>109</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh found no harm in his having been "an impassioned abandoned sensualist," even though he objected to his showing "some of the marks of a tired sensualist"<sup>110</sup>, and Saintsbury thought "the greater part of the verse . . . animated by what may be called a spiritualized worldliness and sensuality."<sup>111</sup> But indicative as these signs may

<sup>107</sup> Alford, *ed. cit.*, I, xxv. On the next page, he suggested that "the object addressed in the Love-poems of the day, and the circumstances introduced, were often both equally imaginary." Cp. his hesitant excuse for Donne's coarseness in *Pulpit Eloquence of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1858), p. 11. See, too, J. C. M. Bellew, *Poets' Corner* (London, 1868), p. 189.

<sup>108</sup> "John Donne," *The Argosy*, XXXII (1881), pp. 300 ff.

<sup>109</sup> *Literary History of the English People* (New York, 1909), II, 422 f.

<sup>110</sup> *Letters*, *ed. cit.*, II, 518.

<sup>111</sup> "Muses' Library" edition, I, xvi. Cp. *ibid.*, I, xxxi, and R. Aldington, *Literary Studies and Reviews* (New York, 1924), pp. 51, 210. Chadwick ex-

be, they can scarcely be said to show that, at the turn of the century, the average reader was not offended by Donne's sensuality

The very reasons that led to disapproval of the freedom of his earlier years caused considerable notice of his reformation and its literary fruit. Naturally, much of this comment concerned his life and sermons: many, besides Coleridge, commented on his eminence among the preachers of the age; warm commendation of his piety and the intense Christianity of his soul became almost commonplace<sup>133</sup>; and as might be expected, his work was usually represented in the numerous collections of sacred verse<sup>134</sup>. On the other hand, surprisingly little critical comment dealt with his religious verse, and much even of that was adverse. The writer of the critique in the *Retrospective Review* liked the epistles "less than any of his other poems, always excepting the religious ones"<sup>135</sup>, and Sanders summarized his impressions:

But with greater age and seriousness his poems became gradually less passionate, less emotional, more thoughtful, graver, more religious, until at last he began to regard with something like horror the lighter and more frivolous, though not more fantastic, outpourings of his youth. His "Divine Poems" vary from what is perilously near doggerel to good examples of his second-best manner, but nowhere in them does he reach the pitch of some of his earlier work. His "Hymn to God the Father" is one of the best: it has more sense of form than many of them: it is short, and breathes sincerity. In most of his sacred poems, however, there is nothing good except the intention.<sup>136</sup>

Similarly, a writer in *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine* thought the "Divine Poems" "for the most part, very poor," compared to the "Funeral Elegies," but granted that "here, as everywhere, splendid thoughts and splendid words abound."<sup>137</sup> This typifies the bulk of the criticism of Donne's sacred verse, but as the century ended, some change appeared. As a whole, Chadwick's comments were kinder; he spoke of the "Holy Sonnets" as

pressed his pity (*op cit*, pp 44 f.) "for those persons whose prurient prudishness forbids them to enjoy [the] frank sincerity" of "An Epithalamion on the Lady Elizabeth"; earlier (p 38) he had described his love poetry as "some of the most sensual poetry written by any English poet of eminence".<sup>138</sup> Alice King, *op cit*, Southey, *Quarterly Review*, XXXIX (1829), 383 f; Farr, *Gems of Sacred Poetry*, p. 86. Influenced probably by Walton, Trench (*op cit*, p 403), Lightfoot (*op cit*, p 9), and Grosart (*ed cit*, II, xviii) compared his life to that of St Augustine

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, the titles listed in note 11

<sup>134</sup> *Op cit*, VIII (1823), 50

<sup>135</sup> *Op cit*, p. 621

<sup>136</sup> I (1846), 236. Cp Macdonald, *op. cit*, p 121; Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 263 ff., II, 100, 106.

very different from the hard and gritty "Divine Poems" of an earlier date; they are touched with emotion, and give an impression of profound reality. The first of all strikes the high note which is sustained throughout. We do not entirely escape the extravagant conceits which to the last were his besetting sin, but they are less conspicuous than formerly, and Donne is less the conscious rebel than he was against melodious verse<sup>127</sup> that execrable taste which disfigured some of his most beautiful and noble verse."

Lionel Johnson spoke enthusiastically of Donne's "divine audacity" and illustrated his remark with the opening lines of "At the round earth's imagin'd corners," which he thought "as colossal in conception as the 'Last Judgment' of Michael Angelo."<sup>128</sup> The warmest praise, perhaps, of his religious verse, as well as of the religious aspects of his character, is found in Gamahel Bradford's essay:

It [his religious verse] has the same energy and passion as his other work. . . . But the intensity and profound earnestness of Christian thought belong to Donne's secular poems also. . . . To him the essence of our life here was struggle and war. He never lost sight of the goal, the star of faith was never overclouded for him; but the flesh was unequal to the spirit . . . He knew all temptations and was led astray by them. But he always hated them, he never yielded, never despaired. Through sin and wretchedness he fought his way upward, and the stamp of strife is left on all he ever wrote, not only on his sermons, but on the freest of his verses, all alike are the passionate expression of one of the noblest, tenderest, broadest, and deepest natures that ever received the subtle gift of genius. It is for this that Donne must remain preeminently great to those who will labor with him; not for his wit, nor his learning, nor his eccentricity. . . . He has the moral dignity and grandeur of a soul which, not ignorant of the wretchedness of this world, is yet forever ravished with the love and worship of the eternal<sup>129</sup>

## XII

Another of Donne's faults, lack of taste, was sometimes associated with morals, as, for example, by Macdonald in this passage:

It is in a measure distressing that, while I grant with all my heart the claim of his "Muse's white sincerity," the taste in—I do not say *of*—some of his best poems should be such that I will not present them.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 46. Earlier in his review (p. 43) he had written: "With rare exceptions, these earlier 'Divine Poems' impress us as exercises in pious ingenuity, rather than as the spontaneous expressions of a religious soul. They read as if Donne were trying to work himself into a frame of mind that would justify him in taking a religious office. Nowhere do we find more of

<sup>128</sup> *Post Liminium*, ed. Thomas Whittemore (London, 1911), p. 119.

<sup>129</sup> *Naturalist*, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>130</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 121. Cp. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 285, and Chadwick as quoted in note 137.

More often, the charge referred to Donne's inability to criticize and polish his own work, to the "want of the Art-Spirit, which is so conspicuous in his life,"<sup>141</sup> to his failure to keep himself within bounds. Throughout the century, in this respect, critical reaction remained much the same: Donne, and his followers, "were misled by learning and false taste into such extravagances, both of idea and of language, as rendered all their better qualities nearly useless"<sup>142</sup>; "all [Donne] wanted to make him an accomplished poet of the second order was sensibility and taste"<sup>143</sup>; and "execrable taste . . . disfigured some of his most beautiful and noble verse."<sup>144</sup> Macdonald followed this tradition when he wrote:

The central thought of Dr. Donne is nearly sure to be just: the subordinate thoughts by means of which he unfolds it are often grotesque, and so wildly associated as to remind one of the lawlessness of a dream, wherein mere suggestion without choice or fitness rules the sequence. He says nothing unrelated to the main idea of the poem; but not the less certainly does the whole resemble the speech of a child of active imagination, to whom judgment as to the character of his suggestions is impossible, his taste being equally gratified with a lovely image and a brilliant absurdity: a butterfly and a shining potsherd are to him similarly desirable. Whatever wild thing starts from the thicket of thought, all is worthy game to the hunting intellect of Dr. Donne, and is followed without question of tone, keeping, or harmony: . . . the hart escapes while he follows the squirrels and weasels and bats.<sup>145</sup>

Until at least 1900 his "most perverse taste"<sup>146</sup> was an obstacle in the way of those who would treat Donne kindly: not a few ignored it; some conceded it and strove to palliate the offence by pointing out that "amidst much bad taste, there is much real poetry, and that of a high order, in Donne"<sup>147</sup>; but none could defend it.

Closely related to taste was the question of the propriety of Donne's poetic subjects. The anonymous critic of the *Retrospective Review* expressed ably one of the objections frequently implicit in the attitudes of other critics:

These persons never acted avowedly, (though they sometimes did uncon-

<sup>141</sup> Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 622. Bradford (*Naturalist*, p. 75) found not only Donne, but the Elizabethans generally, lacking in "decent reasonableness," in "the love of rounded and flawless beauty," in "perfect clearness and Attic simplicity."

<sup>142</sup> Chambers, *History*, pp. 41 f.

<sup>143</sup> *Retrospective Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>144</sup> Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Cp. Furst, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>145</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>146</sup> Jameson, *op. cit.*, II, 94.

<sup>147</sup> Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, I, 109.

sciously) on the principle that an idea or a sentiment may be poetical *per se*; for they had not notion whatever of the fact. They considered that *man* was the creator of poetry, not Nature, and that anything might be made poetical, by connecting it, in a certain manner, with something else. A thought or a feeling was, to them, not a thing *to express*, but a theme to write *variations* upon—a nucleus, about which other thoughts and feelings were to be made to crystalize.<sup>148</sup>

### XIII

What has been said thus far suggests that Donne's defenders were distinctly few during the century and poses even more clearly the question of the basis of his later vogue. Manifestly, it cannot rest solely upon a change of opinion concerning aspects of his work already discussed. Though Whitman and some of his followers opened a few ears to the subtle harmonies of Donne and the loosening of the Victorian moral code led other readers to face his frank immorality with composure—if not praise—the shift of judgment concerning what were earlier thought his vices left him still far from popular. Much of his present reputation rests on qualities not yet discussed, some early recognized and others virtually discoveries of the late 1800's: his genuine poetic ability, for example, his emotional depth, and his sincerity—even perhaps the challengingly mysterious quality of the man himself and the difficulty of penetration of his individuality.<sup>149</sup>

Often, during the century, those who were not completely repelled by the superficial peculiarities of Donne's verse noticed contradictions between its content and its dress. Here and there they found ideas which they believed proper to poetry—perhaps to great poetry—so expressed that they lost much in effectiveness and power of poetic suggestion. Many of this group adopted Hazlitt's attitude.

The complaint so often made, and here repeated, is not of the want of power in these men, but of the waste of it; not of the absence of genius, but the abuse of it.<sup>150</sup>

Thus Gilfillan wrote that "Donne, altogether, gives us the impression of a great genius ruined by a false system. He is a charioteer run away

<sup>148</sup> *Op cit*, p. 32

<sup>149</sup> The following paragraph (quoted from *The Dial* by Furst, *op cit*, p. 17) illustrates this appeal: "Donne drew around him a cloudy something which keeps him forever to himself. And whoever may have penetrated within has been unable, on coming forth, to render a good account of what he has experienced. . . . Donne is the most baffling of the minor poets. . . . A number of men have tried their hands, and yet no lover of Donne feels that anything adequate has been said." Cp. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, II, 291.

<sup>150</sup> *Ed cit*, VIII, 50

with by his own pampered steeds."<sup>181</sup> Even so late as 1900, Sanders afforded an example of this tendency:

Donne is not more remarkable for splendour of thought and imagery than for the inartistic lapses that disfigure many of his poems. Genius is there. The poet as creator, as thinker, is elsewhere seen: not so often the poet as workman.<sup>182</sup>

Toward the end of the century, however, a change was discernible among those who discussed Donne's genius: they spoke more of his great poetic ability and less of its abuse. Thus Lightfoot phrased his admiration:

During the last century, which had no toleration for subtle conceits and rugged rhythms, it [Donne's fame] was unduly depreciated; but now again it has emerged from its eclipse. No quaintness of conception and no recklessness of style and no harshness of metre can hide the true poetic genius which flashed out from his nobler pieces.<sup>183</sup>

And at the very end of the century, Jusserand wrote with even greater enthusiasm:

But he has what no amount of labour, no imitation of approved models can supply: the inborn gift of poetry. Wherever he goes, whatever he writes, whatever mud he may stir, and even in his hideous, ironical and unclean "Progress of the Soul," he shows himself a poet. In profusion throughout his work, profound or subtle thoughts, distant prospects suddenly revealed, then hidden, marvels, then dark shadows, the most glorious image, of finest mould, remaining ever, on some side, attached to its gangue, like a statue of Rodin's. His gems are left partly polished; he is willing to show his finds just as they are: the diamond in the rough, the gold attached to the quartz, and it is, indeed, a pleasant impression, after having kept company with the super-refined, with the ecstatic dreamers and professional amourists, to be at last so near pure nature.<sup>184</sup>

Along with genius, some few also found "genuine poetry, real inspiration."<sup>185</sup> And surprisingly enough, one of those was a critic ordinarily so captious as Taine, who admitted that Donne preserved "something of the energy and thrill of the original inspiration"<sup>186</sup>, that, though faint at best, was high praise from one who ended the next

<sup>181</sup> *Specimens*, I, 203. F. B. Browning remarked (*Book of the Poets*, pp. 162 ff.) that he knew "more noble poetry than he articulates." Hales expressed himself emphatically (*op cit*, I, 558): "Of his genius there can be no question, but it was perversely directed. One may almost invert Jonson's famous panegyric on Shakespeare, and say that Donne was not for all time but for an age."

<sup>182</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 622 f.

<sup>183</sup> *Op cit*, p. 4.

<sup>184</sup> *Op cit*, II, 422.

<sup>185</sup> *Temple Bar*, III (1861), 91.

<sup>186</sup> *Op cit*, p. 145. Cp. Sanders, *op cit*, p. 624.

sentence with the remark that Donne succeeded "with great difficulty in concocting a piece of nonsense." In contrast, there is nothing negatively about Swinburne's comparison of Donne and Gray:

That chance is the ruler of the world I should be sorry to believe and reluctant to affirm; but it would be difficult for any competent and careful student to maintain that chance is not the ruler of the world of letters. Gray's odes are still, I suppose, familiar to thousands who know nothing of Donne's *Anniversaries*; and Bacon's Essays are conventionally if not actually familiar to thousands who know nothing of Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*. And yet it is certain that in fervour of inspiration, in depth and force and glow of thought and emotion and expression, Donne's verses are as far above Gray's as Jonson's notes or observations on men and morals, on principles and on facts, are superior to Bacon's in truth of insight, in breadth of view, in vigour of reflection and in concision of eloquence.<sup>197</sup>

#### XIV

Generally, too, opinion was favorable concerning Donne's fancy and imagination. In 1769, Granger had alluded to Donne's "prodigious richness of fancy,"<sup>198</sup> and later writers were likely to agree with him. Indeed, Anderson<sup>199</sup> and the writer on Donne in the sixth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* used the same words. Gilfillan put the same opinion strikingly by questioning that Johnson "possessed a tithe of the rich fancy, the sublime intuition, and the lofty spirituality" of the poet he took as the type of the Metaphysicals.<sup>200</sup> Later, this attitude grew even stronger. Thus, Craik descried "often the sunniest and most delicate fancy" running through all Donne's works,<sup>201</sup> and Norton selected the "easy flight of fancy"<sup>202</sup> as one of the abilities in which Donne was supreme in his age with the sole exception of Shakespeare.

Toward his imagination, the reaction was much the same. Except for Campbell, who thought Donne's imagination noteworthy but chaotic,<sup>203</sup> the chorus of praise was almost unanimous. In the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* it was described as harboring "fire within its cloudy folds"; Sir Walter Raleigh, noting its close affinity to his intellect, pronounced it wonderful<sup>204</sup>; and Jusserand thought it

<sup>197</sup> *Study of Ben Jonson* (London, 1889), p. 129.

<sup>198</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 312.

<sup>199</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>200</sup> *Specimens*, I, 203 *Cp Retrospective Review, loc cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>201</sup> *Compendious History*, I, 552.

<sup>202</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, xxiii.

<sup>203</sup> *Essay, loc. cit.*

<sup>204</sup> *Op cit.*, II, 518. Saintsbury (*History*, pp. 146 ff.), who thought that Donne should be regarded by every catholic student of English literature "with a respect only 'this side idolatry,'" judged "Donne's peculiar poetical

"ever-ready and super-abundant."<sup>165</sup> But of all the critics, perhaps the often timid Grosart was most enthusiastic:

As an Imaginator it is impossible to place Donne too high. The light of his imagination lies goldenly over his thinking. Granted to Dr Macdonald . . . that a 'shining potsherd' takes him now and again away from the main line of his thought, but it is not the potsherd that does it, but the 'shining,' and the 'shining' is not from the 'potsherd', but from above in the glory of the sun.<sup>166</sup>

When thus much has been said, the list of qualities which even approached universal praise throughout the period is virtually exhausted. Others—more crucial to his reputation—came into prominence late in the century after having been for long almost, or completely, ignored.

### XV

It may seem strange that until 1880 few nineteenth-century critics commented on Donne's passion. In one sense, the earlier writers had made their attitude clear in their opinions of his other characteristics, his morality in particular; but emotion as the groundwork of poetry they almost ignored. Doubtless, also, Minto hit upon a partial explanation in the remark that those who heard "the voice of true passion" in Tennyson's "Fatima" would not "admit that any sincerity of feeling whatever can lie at the heart of the more insubstantial extravagancies of Donne."<sup>167</sup> Or men previously have been so repelled by the exterior of his verse as to be unwilling to penetrate to its heart or to be doubtful that the effort would be fruitful. At any rate, the emotional element of Donne's work was seldom discussed during the first three-quarters of the century; Mrs. Jameson was almost unique with the remark that "what is good, is the result of truth, of passion, of a strong mind, and a brilliant wit."<sup>168</sup> After 1880, however, praise of this aspect was frequent and warm. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* remarked that Donne, like Keats, though "in far inferior degree, sought to distill his own emotions into music" and that it is "through emotion that we realize" some of his "epoch-making" thoughts<sup>169</sup>; the very mention of Donne in the same sentence with Keats is significant. Later, Schelling emphasized the emotional content to the extent of selecting "an habitual

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quality" to be "the fiery imagination shining in dark places, the magical illumination of obscure and shadowy thoughts with the lightning of fancy."

<sup>165</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 422.

<sup>166</sup> *Ed. cit.*, II, xxxix.

<sup>167</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 859

<sup>168</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 95

<sup>169</sup> CLXXXV (1897), 181, 186.



transmutation of emotion into terms of the intellect" as one of the "tokens of the presence of Donne."<sup>170</sup> Likewise, many at this time listed some aspect of Donne's emotion as one of his literary virtues: Norton his "sincerity of passionate utterance"<sup>171</sup>; Gosse, his "concentrated passion"<sup>172</sup>, and Symons, "complexities of passion."<sup>173</sup> Finally, is full of 'masculine persuasive force'; it has not, as the greater portion of love poetry has, a feminine pathos, but the passion of a man"

Bradford selected fervor of emotion as one of the qualities that gave "Donne his high position as a man and as a poet" and suggested as a reason for the unevenness of his work:

Donne was always at war with the elements of style, bending them, rending them, straining them, to match the sweeping tide of his thoughts and passions. Sometimes he conquered, and soared into the highest heaven of poetry, sometimes he was worsted and sank to depths lower than the lowest of prose<sup>174</sup>

Intimately allied, and sometimes identical, to this element is feeling; concerning it judgments appeared considerably earlier and were therefore more varied. In 1844 Chambers professed to have sought vainly in Donne for "the rich abundance of genuine poetical feeling and imagery, which distinguish the poets of Elizabeth's reign,"<sup>175</sup> and two years later a writer in *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine* characterized the love poems as lacking in spontaneous feeling<sup>176</sup>; but these comments are scarcely representative. Instead, Southey, who found in his work "the feeling of a poet,"<sup>177</sup> is in the main typical. W. F. Collier thought that "beneath the artificial incrustations which characterize this school, Donne displays a fine vein of poetic feeling,"<sup>178</sup> and Edward Farr that his poetry showed his "reverence of religion with the warmth and sincerity of genuine feeling"<sup>179</sup>. Lamb's praise was even warmer

We are too apt to indemnify ourselves for some characteristic excellence we are kind enough to concede to a great author by denying him everything else. Thus Donne and Cowley, by happening to possess more wit and faculty of illustration than other men, are supposed to have been incapable of

<sup>170</sup> *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, p. xix.

<sup>171</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, xxiii

<sup>172</sup> *Jacobean Poets*, pp. 52, 65.

<sup>173</sup> *Pageant*, p. 390. It will be recalled that he continued "And this poetry

<sup>174</sup> *Naturalist*, pp. 66, 76 f

<sup>175</sup> *Cyclopaedia*, I, 110

<sup>176</sup> I (1846), 231.

<sup>177</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XI (1814), 487

<sup>178</sup> *A History of English Literature in a Series of Biographical Sketches* (London, 1861), p. 168.

<sup>179</sup> *Gems*, p. 86

natural feeling, they are usually opposed to such writers as Shenstone and Parnell; whereas in the very thickest of their conceits—in the bewildering mazes of tropes and figures—a warmth of soul and generous feeling shines through, the “sum” of which “forty thousand” of those natural poets, as they are called, “with all their quantity,” could not make up<sup>180</sup>

Not all the critical approval of this aspect of his work, however, was so unqualified. For example, Norton praised his “sincerity of passionate utterance” and found his better poetry “the revelation . . . of a soul with rare capacity of intense feeling,” but also attacked his “exaggeration of affected feelings”<sup>181</sup> vigorously. Bradford too thought him by no means wholly free from “the habit of making up for deep, strong feeling by the use of far-fetched frigid conceits”; noted the vagaries into which he fell by ransacking “all nature for an image that [would] not dull the intensity of his feelings”, but questioned emphatically that any has “ever flashed the light of imagination so vividly upon the depths of feeling.”<sup>182</sup>

## XVI

What has been said concerning emotion and feeling suggests that, as readers came to examine Donne's verse more penetratingly and with greater discrimination between his more and his less successful efforts, they began to take rich satisfaction in elements of his work which once were ignored and which now are often regarded as fundamentals of poetry. The recognition of Donne's integrity is another case in point. Though in the 1790's Anderson asserted that “his thoughts are seldom natural, obvious, or just”<sup>183</sup> and in 1859 Whipple judged his intention to be “not to idealize what is true, but to display the writer's skill and wit in giving a show of reason to what is false,”<sup>184</sup> most of those who spoke on the subject held contrary views. Sanders found the “conviction of truth” in the later poems<sup>185</sup>; Deshler thought the later religious

<sup>180</sup> Quoted by Grosart, *ed. cit.*, II, xlvii

<sup>181</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, xxi, xxiii

<sup>182</sup> *Naturalist*, pp. 76, 83, 91. Toward the end of the century, tenderness was often associated with Donne's poetry. Craik detected “the truest tenderness and depth of feeling” (*History*, III, 169). Dowden found it in his later prose as well as his early poems (*op. cit.*, p. 91); and Gosse wrote thus: “It [Crashaw's “Wishes to His Supposed Mistress”] never, I think, rises to the thrilling tenderness which Donne is capable of on similar occasions. Crashaw never pants out a line and a half which leave us faint and throbbing, as if the heart of humanity itself had been revealed to us for a moment” (“Richard Crashaw,” *Cornhill Magazine*, XLVII [1883], 435).

<sup>183</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV, 5.

<sup>184</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>185</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 617. He thought it lacking in the love verses of his youth

poems "penetrated by a conviction so vivid that to the author's mind they must have seemed impending realities"<sup>186</sup>; and a writer in *Temple Bar* recognized "the ring of real passion" in several of the early love poems<sup>187</sup> and quoted with approval Macdonald's opinion that "the central thought of Dr. Donne is nearly sure to be just"<sup>188</sup> without Macdonald's qualifications. Others selected *earnestness* to denote this quality of the best of Donne's work. For example, Palgrave discerned in his work "a strange solemn passionate earnestness"<sup>189</sup>; Bradford "the intensity and profound earnestness of Christian thought" in even his secular pieces<sup>190</sup>; and an essayist in the *Retrospective Review* "a solemn and sincere earnestness" in "By our first strange and fatal interview."<sup>191</sup> Obviously, it was to his integrity that Emerson alluded when he remarked that Donne's poems, "like life afford the chance of richest instruction amid frivolous and familiar objects; the loose and the grand, religion and mirth stand in surprising neighborhood, and like the words of great men, without cant."<sup>192</sup>

## XVII

Without doubt, Donne's success in what Richard Aldington called "personal poetry"<sup>193</sup> aided his popularity at a time when psychology was

<sup>186</sup> *Op cit*, p. 124. He was writing specifically of the sonnets, of which his final judgment was that Donne failed to reach "the heights of true sublimity" in them, for "he has not the faculty of transporting others so that they see with his eyes; the thoughts and images which affect him so powerfully make no impression on them, and, instead of being overpowered with awe by his conceptions, we gaze in mild wonder upon the spectacles that he evokes, and calmly criticize their lurid and artificial grandeur."

<sup>187</sup> "The First of the English Satirists," *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), 341.

<sup>188</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 114. Macdonald (*ibid.*, p. 122) pointed out a few lines of "The Crosse", a poem "full of fantastic conceits," which embodied "the profoundest truth." Bradford (*Naturalist*, p. 75) was far less restrained: "The most obscure and elaborate poem of Donne strikes more deeply into the truths of nature and the heart of man than the most brilliant production of the clever rhymers of Twickenham."

<sup>189</sup> *Op cit*, p. 333.

<sup>190</sup> *Naturalist*, p. 95.

<sup>191</sup> VIII (1823), 51. "The Good-Morrow," he also remarked (p. 37), "has an air of serious gaiety about it, as if it has been composed in the very bosom of bliss."

<sup>192</sup> *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Emerson and Forbes (Boston and New York, 1909), IV, 254. Dowden (*op. cit.*, p. 113) denied that the ingenious subtlety of the love poems implied "any coldness or insincerity"; Gosse (*Jacobean Poets*, p. 60; see also the passage quoted on p. 146) wrote of the lyrics that "in spite of the alambicated verbiage, the tortuousness and artificiality of the thought, sincerity burns in every stanza"; and Norton (*ed. cit.*, I, xcldi) mentioned "sincerity of passionate utterance" as one of Donne's surpassing excellencies. Cp. Saintsbury, "Muses' Library" edition, I, xxxii.

<sup>193</sup> *Op cit*, p. 216. John Bailey ("The Sermons of a Poet," *Quarterly Re-*

setting up as a science; at least, several of the later critics found it noteworthy. An anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Review* selected Donne as one of "the lineal fathers of our literary impressionism," in part because "the workings of his own heart and soul are indeed his only theme, nor does he, like Keats, attempt to transfer them to the nature around or the centuries behind him. He never treats humanity in combination; he is the mere diarist of his own feelings, detached and rarefied, as it were, from his own experiences."<sup>184</sup> Gosse objectively defined "the aim of the English lyric poets from Donne to Cowley" as "an application of the psychological method to the passions" and remarked that "the poet, tired of pastoral superficialities, looked deeply into his own soul, and found himself in possession of certain data, which he produced with more or less skill in terms of the imagination"<sup>185</sup>; Deshler described the sonnets as "severely, and at times impressively introspective"<sup>186</sup>; and Norton praised Donne's better poetry as "the revelation of a curiously interesting and complex nature, of a soul with rare capacity of intense feeling, of an intelligence at once deep and subtle, and of a varied experience of life."<sup>187</sup> This attitude Dowden, too, well illustrated in his tendency to try to "get access to his writings . . . through his life, and through an interest in his character as an individual."<sup>188</sup> Nor is it strange that a poet whose work yielded to this treatment gained esteem; the tendency has been growing to analyze the characters of our writers, to try to see the man behind the work and thus to see the work more clearly.

## XVIII

Until the middle of the century, Donne's originality was not brought into much prominence, except as it was adversely alluded to in connection with his wit and cleverness<sup>189</sup>; but, after 1850, tributes to this quality were numerous. In 1884 Lowell selected Donne as a type of

*view*, CCXXXIII [1920], 317-28) placed emphasis on Donne's having been "the most self-willed individualist of all our older poets" in accounting for the rapid rise of his reputation in the twentieth century.

<sup>184</sup> CLXXXV (1897), p. 179.

<sup>185</sup> *More Books on the Table*, p. 309.

<sup>186</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>187</sup> *Ed cit.*, I, xxi.

<sup>188</sup> *Op cit.*, pp. 92 f.

<sup>189</sup> The editors of the *Sacred Classics* (XXVI, 52) and Farr (*Gems*, p. 86) both commended his "originality of thought," and Rufus W. Griswold (*op. cit.*, p. 51) echoed Farr's words. All these comments had specific reference to Donne as a sacred poet.

originality in contrast to Chaucer and Gray,<sup>200</sup> and in 1897 a writer in the *Quarterly Review* praised him because "his fervid originality stands out irregular and unrestrained among the brilliant galaxies of his age."<sup>201</sup> From this point of view, however, there were dissenters even at this time: Palgrave pronounced his "strange originality almost equally fascinating and repellent"<sup>202</sup>; Craik remarked that his "abundance and originality of thought" often ran "into a wildness and extravagance"<sup>203</sup>; and Hales spent no little space in developing the idea that "this mis-spent learning, this excessive ingenuity, this laborious wit seriously mars almost the whole of Donne's work . . . We weary of such unmitigated cleverness—such ceaseless straining after novelty and surprise."<sup>204</sup> But, on the whole, the later years of the century produced readers who placed originality among Donne's primary virtues.<sup>205</sup>

## XIX

Many men of the century noticed another quality, strikingly characteristic of Donne. The names by which it was designated vary widely, the more so because it attracted some critics and repelled others; but essentially it seems to have been what Coleridge exclaimed over as his "wonder-exciting vigour, intenseness, and peculiarity of thought."<sup>206</sup> In the satires Gosse called it his "crabbed violence alike of manner and matter," and in the best of his work, his "bold and ecstatic rapture."<sup>207</sup> Minto characterized it as "the delight of a fresh untamed intellect in its own strength"<sup>208</sup>; and another writer pronounced the satires, which displeased Gosse, "models of strength and energy."<sup>209</sup> Swinburne con-

<sup>200</sup> *Wordsworthiana*, p. 172.

<sup>201</sup> CLXXXV (1897), p. 177. The reviewer of Browning's *Jocoseria* for the *Athenaeum* (March 24, 1883, p. 367) placed Donne among the most strikingly original of English poets, even though originality was not, in his opinion, a cardinal literary virtue.

<sup>202</sup> *Loc cit*.

<sup>203</sup> *Sketches*, III, 169 f. This judgment also appears in the *Compendious History*, I, 552.

<sup>204</sup> *Op cit*, I, 559 f. Welsh (*op cit*, I, 412) used Donne as an example of the school, the members of which strained "after novelty and surprise."

<sup>205</sup> Bradford set down as a memorable event of March 13, 1896, the "purchase of Donne's *Poems* which I have long desired" and described their author as "one of the most vigorous, energetic, original writers in English or any other language" (*Journal*, p. 83); and Symonds distinguished him as the inventor of a new kind of poetry, "in which he has had no successor" (*Pageant*, p. 390).

<sup>206</sup> *Miscellanies, Aesthetic and Literary*, ed. T. Ashe (London, 1885), p. 135.

<sup>207</sup> *Jacobean Poets*, pp. 51, 65.

<sup>208</sup> *Op cit*, p. 853.

<sup>209</sup> *Penny Encyclopaedia*. Cp. Hales, *op cit*, p. 559. A still earlier critic had put it thus (*Retrospective Review*, *loc cit*, p. 52) "Donne's Satires are as

sidered "fervour of inspiration" and "depth and force and glow of thought and emotion and expression"<sup>210</sup> peculiarly characteristic of Donne, Dowden remarked upon stanzas in "The Litanie" which are full of "spiritual ardour"<sup>211</sup>; and Leslie Stephen spoke, though scarcely with complete approval, of his love for the "'intense' and super-sublimated."<sup>212</sup> In Bradford's allusions to Donne, *energy* and *vigor* were favorite words:

The word which stamps itself on every line of his works, on every trait of his nature, is 'intensity,' that restless, hungry energy of mind, which will not let a man shut his eyes while there is a corner of thought unprobed, unlightened. Vigor of intellect, fervor of emotion—these are what give Donne his high position as a man and as a poet

There is a strangeness, an appearance of labor, resulting from the intense, crowding energy of the poet's thought, an energy that cannot stop to arrange its expressions, to choose its figures, that strikes the iron at a white heat, moulds it, often awkwardly, but always leaves it with the stamp of power, I cannot propose a better instance of this than some parts—only some parts—of Shakespeare and almost the whole of Donne<sup>213</sup>

Considering the prominence of this trait, adequate appreciation of Donne was certainly as impossible while it was ignored as any great liking until it was approved; likewise, it is certain that it went far toward securing Donne a favorable reception in our century, one which has put increasing emphasis on energy and intensity.

## XX

For the most part, Donne's humor was ignored: those few critics who noted it—at least, outside the satires—nearly all appeared late in the century. Among them may be mentioned Alford, who found in the epistles a happy blend of "playfulness and earnest, pathos and humour"<sup>214</sup>; Emerson, who remarked as one of Donne's virtues the

rough and rugged as the unhewn stones that have just been blasted from their native quarry, and they must have come upon the readers at whom they were levelled, with the force and effect of the same stones flung from the hand of a giant"

<sup>210</sup> *Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 129. Bellevue (*op cit*, p. 189) recommended that we pardon Donne's "faults of excess . . . whilst we are often startled and delighted by the energy and power which he displays." Cp. Chambers, *History*, p. 42. "The versification of Donne is rugged, but sometimes displays a passionate energy that almost redeems his besetting vices of thought"

<sup>211</sup> *Op. cit*, p. 97.

<sup>212</sup> *Op. cit*, III, 81.

<sup>213</sup> *Naturalist*, pp. 66, 76. See also Jessopp's edition of the *Essays in Divinity*, p. xvii; Hales, *op. cit*, I, 560 f.; R. W. B., *op. cit*, p. 90.

<sup>214</sup> *Ed. cit*, I, xxiii. Cp. Furst, *op. cit*, p. 46.

close, lifelike neighborhood of religion and mirth in his verse<sup>228</sup>; and Bradford, who cited humor as an almost universal feature of Donne's work:

This admirable comic gift is shown not only in Donne's satires, but in almost all his poems, and atones for many of his extravagances. Often if you look carefully, you can see a half smile on his face that you should take him seriously. The richness and variety of his humor appear in such poems as 'Woman's Constancy,' 'The Triple Fool' with its

'Who are a little wise the best fools be,'

'Love's Legacy,' and in flashes everywhere. Something in this mingling of mirth with passion, this swift interchange of grief and laughter, recalls Heine; but Donne had nothing of the cynic about him.<sup>229</sup>

Best of all was Minto's comment:

The youthful paradoxist [Minto was writing of Donne's *Paradoxes*] particularly delighted in making women the butts of his boisterous mirth, partly perhaps from a spirit of antagonism to the love-lorn sonneteers of the period. The last lines give a key to the sentiment of the poem ["The Funeral"] Donne was still in his mocking vein when he wrote these stanzas. They are a sort of trap for the object of his addresses; he begins in all seriousness, sweet, fantastic seriousness, but he turns round at the end and laughs at his own sentiment. Yet the sentiment, with all the far-fetched ingenuity of its clothing, is so deep and tender that his mistress might have been pardoned if she did not know what to make of it. Donne has suffered not a little from the perversity of critics who have insisted upon giving too serious a meaning to his fantasies.<sup>231</sup>

Even at the end of the century, however, there was still much to be done before this side of Donne's nature could be fully evaluated—and the work was of importance. As Minto suggested, not a little of the early lack of sympathy for his verse was due to the belief of readers that he was passionately serious in those very poems where his sober-faced playfulness is most apparent.

The discussion thus far makes it clear that the changes of literary taste during the nineteenth century were attended by increased appreciation of Donne's poetry. It is clear that this was no regular development: the cross currents and back eddies are often disconcerting; for now and then a critic enthusiastic in his praise of a particular feature appeared when those around him opposed it violently, and likewise the closing years showed readers nearly as acrid in their disapproval as those in the earlier years of the century. Even so, the larger outlines

<sup>228</sup> *Journals*, IV, 254.

<sup>229</sup> *Naturalist*, pp. 87 f

<sup>231</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 854 ff

are clear: the century in general advanced from objections to Donne's harshness of meter, complexity of thought and expression, and unconvictionality of matter and treatment to enjoyment of his subtlety of rhythm, his intensity of thought and emotion, and his sometimes startling honesty and frankness.

## XXI

Having surveyed the winding ways by which the nineteenth century came to a re-evaluation of Donne's work, one faces a question to which the answer is necessarily less certain—that of specific causes, both of the attitudes displayed and of the changes in them. At the outset, it must be understood that the roots of much nineteenth-century criticism of Donne are in the eighteenth century. The question of what were then its causes lies outside the field of the present inquiry; but, for our purposes, these earlier attitudes are important as causative factors for points of view later held, especially during the early 1800's. No critic completely divorces himself from the influences of his formative years, and few even attempt to do so. Too often, one suspects, the mediocre critic read his predecessors in the field more diligently than the works he discussed, and the attention of even those of real discernment was necessarily guided and their points of view inevitably modified by opinions they met in their reading. Just as did Drake and Macaulay,<sup>218</sup> William Mason and Dryden and David Hume had objected to Donne's roughness<sup>219</sup>; Craik and Southey were forestalled—if not guided—in their apology that that roughness was intentional by such as Richard Hurd<sup>220</sup> and Dryden<sup>221</sup>; and similarly Pope and Warburton preceded DeQuincey in giving the *Progress of the Soul* special admiration.<sup>222</sup> Naturally, then, it was but slowly that the old attitudes gave way; and new ones, when they appeared, were long in being accepted. Far from surprising, this phenomenon deserves attention here only as probably the most important factor retarding change in the reputation of Donne.

<sup>218</sup> See the quotations on pp 139, 140, and 144 above.

<sup>219</sup> Nethercot, "The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist," *Sewanee Review*, XXX (1922), pp 464 ff.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470. Cp Craik and Southey as quoted on pp 144 f and 146.

<sup>221</sup> *Essays*, ed. cit., II, 102.

<sup>222</sup> Nethercot, *op cit.*, p 468, and *De Quincey's Literary Criticism*, pp. 49 f. Cf Furst, *op cit.*, p 46. Comparison of the thorough survey of late eighteenth-century criticism of Donne presented by A. H. Nethercot ("The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Johnson and the Romantic Revival," *Studies in Philology*, XXII [1925], 81-132) with the criticism quoted in this paper shows clearly how dependent the early nineteenth-century critics were upon their predecessors.



Dominant in this tendency was the influence of Samuel Johnson. As Minto insisted, "for one person that [read] De Quincey's essay on Rhetoric or Coleridge's priceless fragments of criticism, twenty read Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*."<sup>223</sup> The weight of his influence is attested by those who cited his opinions with approval: for example, Hazlitt and, to some extent, Leigh Hunt and Hartley Coleridge.<sup>224</sup> Hazlitt was particularly hearty; he quoted some of the more censorious passages from the "Life of Cowley," judged the subject well suited to Johnson's "powers of thought and expression," and then launched into his own vigorous attack on Donne.<sup>225</sup> Aside from this group, others, without specifically agreeing with Johnson, mentioned him and made clear their dislike of Donne in virtually the same breath, one doubts that their disapproval was wholly independent of Johnson's opinions. Of these, Deshler, the *Quarterly* reviewer of Bell's series of the British poets, and Chalmers may be listed.<sup>226</sup> And if Johnson's influence so affected those who professed to think for themselves, it is more than likely that he dominated those who made no such professions—who read for pleasure and who looked to critics for guidance in their choice of reading and in their opinions of it—and who seldom recorded their judgments. Johnson and his followers must have discouraged many who might otherwise have enjoyed Donne.

On the other hand, in the early nineteenth century, and somewhat previously, Johnson's authority was vigorously challenged; in his review of Whateley's *Elements of Rhetoric*, DeQuincey devoted considerable space to proving that "no criticism was ever more unhappy than that of Dr. Johnson"<sup>227</sup> Gilfillan, though he disagreed with DeQuincey's flattering estimate of *Metempsychosis*, followed him otherwise with enthusiasm and insisted upon the sublimity of Donne's work in spite of Johnson, remarking that Johnson was unaware of that quality in Donne because he could detect it only in big things.<sup>228</sup> At about the same time, a certain R. W. B. objected to the half truth

<sup>223</sup> *Op cit*, p. 846. The author of "The First of the English Satirists," (*Temple Bar*, XLVII [1876], 337 ff.) laid the neglect of Donne at Johnson's door. Cp. Cattermole and Stebbing, *ed cit*, XXVI, 52.

<sup>224</sup> Hunt, *The Town*, II, 46 f.; Coleridge, *Essays and Marginalia*, I, 5.

<sup>225</sup> *Ed. cit*, VIII, 49 ff. See also Anderson, *op cit*, IV, 5.

<sup>226</sup> *Quarterly Review*, CX (1861), 455 f.; Deshler, *op cit*, p. 123; Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary*, XII, 261 f. Much of Drake's criticism is clearly derivative from Johnson.

<sup>227</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, XXIV (1828), 892 f.

<sup>228</sup> *Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw*, p. xvii, see also his *British Poesy*, p. xxi and *Specimens*, I, 202 f., in which he reprinted *Metempsychosis* entire.

of Johnson's criticisms.<sup>229</sup> Likewise, the suitability of his label of "metaphysical" was challenged with increasing frequency; although these objections to the suitability of this name do not always show conscious rebellion against his authority any more than the earlier, almost universal acceptance of it shows direct influence, yet the bulk of them came from those who were otherwise not much in awe of Johnson's reputation.<sup>230</sup>

Three other writers before 1800 whose opinions were given frequent attention after that date should be mentioned: Dryden, Jonson, and Walton. Neither of the first two presented any formally developed critique of Donne, each in his incidental remarks maintaining a fairly judicious balance. The impression one gets from reading those who alluded to either is that most nineteenth-century critics availed themselves of whatever weight these earlier writers had with their prospective readers by quoting chiefly their adverse remarks, but were not much guided in forming their own opinions.<sup>231</sup> With Walton, however, the situation was different. As the bulk of his work was biographical and as his remained for a long time the basic biography, his influence was chiefly on those who were interested in Donne the man, and only indirectly on the estimate of his literary work. Yet one can hardly read Walton's *Life* without being favorably disposed toward the poetry of the Dean of St. Paul's. It is pertinent too that Walton emphasized those qualities in it best calculated to gain it a favorable hearing from a large group of Victorian readers. All in all, however, it seems a fair summary that the weight of earlier critical authority was against Donne and that Johnson was the most

<sup>229</sup> *Temple Bar*, III (1861), 87.

<sup>230</sup> Among others, see DeQuincey and Gilfillan (notes 227 and 228), Alford, *ed cit*, I, xxiii, Macdonald, *op cit*, 114, Southey's *Specimens*, I, xxiv, Bradford, *Naturalist*, p. 74; for further examples, see A. H. Nethercot, "The Term 'Metaphysical Poets' before Johnson," *M. L. N.*, XXXVII (1922), 11.

<sup>231</sup> Norton, *ed cit*, I, xxix, Cattermole and Stebbing, *ed cit*, XXVI, 52; Swinburne, *Ben Jonson*, p. 142, Emerson, *Complete Works*, VIII, 53, *Works of Ben Jonson, with notes* . . . by William Gifford, *ed* Cunningham (London, 1871), III, 471, 474; *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), 337, Lowell, *Works*, Riverside edition, III, 170, VI, 113, *Wordsworthiana*, 177; Bradford, *Naturalist*, pp. 79 f.; and Minto, *loc cit*, are among those who commented on Jonson's opinions. Dryden's comments were also widely discussed. see Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, I, 109, Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary*, XII, 261; Hartley Coleridge, *Essays and Marginalia*, II, 47, *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), 337; Anderson, *op. cit.*, IV, 5; Granger, *op cit*, I, 312, Lowell, *ed cit*, III, 171; Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets*, V, 124, and Leigh Hunt, *The Town*, II, 46 f.

powerful individual influence in that direction during the whole century.

## XXII

Obviously, however, despite normal conservatism and the influence of earlier critics, the change did take place; and, equally clearly, among the factors responsible were certain predispositions of the century or of parts of it. The relation between the taste of the time and the varying reactions to Donne's versification is a clear example. It is apparent that his harshness repelled many; in part, this was a reflection from the eighteenth century, accustomed as it was to the neatness of the couplets of Pope, but only in part. Many nineteenth-century readers were little better suited by verse modeled on Pope's than had most eighteenth-century readers been by what they considered the almost barbarous dissonances of Donne. Still, in the 1800's, most of them were not ready to hear the music of the Dean of St. Paul's; their ears were tuned to other harmonies, those of Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, or Swinburne; and so, as we have seen, they were unwilling to search beneath Donne's forbidding exterior for poetic satisfaction. But as the harsher, sometimes subtler verse of Browning ceased to shock and as Whitman's star rose, Donne's metrical peculiarities became less a drawback to his reputation. In fact, it was somewhat to the contrary: readers came to be interested in his experiments in meter and cadence, for they were growing impatient of the older melodies and welcomed experiment as perhaps good even in itself. Furthermore, they welcomed Donne's experiments for the success which often attended them; they enjoyed the odd grace and strange music he sometimes achieved. Some saw in him one who had chafed as did they themselves at the restraints of mellifluous sweetness and one who had often been able to escape them—one who might show them a way out of the same bonds. Nor was this true of Donne's meter alone; much the same story could be told of their reaction to his emotional violences and his eccentricities of subject matter, attitude, treatment, and allusion. As a guide away from conventionality, Donne was welcome.

The moral and religious tendencies of the age had likewise their relation to the acceptance of Donne. During the bulk of the century, their effect was unfavorable; the timidity of Grosart in bringing Donne to the shelves of even his carefully limited circle of readers is a memorable illustration. Yet the result, though mainly so, was not

wholly negative. The religious movements of the age led to several collections of sacred poetry in which Donne was represented, and thus in a limited way he was brought to the attention of readers who would otherwise have remained ignorant of him. Of course, it is questionable how many sought his further acquaintance because of this introduction, and still more so that any large part of those who went from his *Holy Sonnets* to some of his satires or elegies were pleased with what they found. Even so, the collectors of sacred verse did something to keep his name alive; and more doubtless was accomplished by the growth of interest in the historical theology of the Anglican church<sup>222</sup> incident upon the Oxford Movement. Early in the period, Coleridge read Donne's sermons with care,<sup>223</sup> and his comments helped to focus attention upon them. They had a part in impelling Alford to prepare his edition<sup>224</sup>; and, though unsatisfactory, that edition is significant for at least two reasons: it exemplifies the interest in that section of Donne's work created by religious movements, and it was a means by which many—one hesitates to guess how many—gained some familiarity with characteristic qualities of Donne's mind and thought. Besides Coleridge, many writers praised unstintedly the eloquence, moral penetration, and theological soundness of Donne's sermons. Thus the very aspects of the age least favorable to the part of Donne's work we read most stimulated interest in other parts of it and helped produce an aura of respectability and a reputation hallowed by years of acceptance, which in turn made fuller acceptance easier when the time for it came.

Late in the century, a spirit of iconoclasm was abroad and old idols were falling. There grew uncertainties, tortured doubts, soul-searching despondencies, which recognized as congenial Donne's frank scepticism and his deadly earnestness about things of the spirit.<sup>225</sup> The honesty and directness of his questioning of his own soul appealed to readers of that time, impatient with what they looked upon as the dishonest optimism of their predecessors. Then, too, as has been suggested, Donne's intellectual attack upon problems of emotion

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<sup>222</sup> Mulman, *op. cit.*; Alford, *ed. cit.*; Jessopp, *John Donne, Sometime Dean of St. Paul's* and his edition of *Essays in Divinity*; Kempe, *op. cit.*; Cattermole and Stebbing, *ed. cit.*

<sup>223</sup> See p. 184 below.

<sup>224</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, v.

<sup>225</sup> See Fausset's introduction to the "Everyman" edition of the *Poems* (pp. vii f.).

was calculated to interest an age that was becoming more and more conscious of formal psychology. The clarity of outline and objective presentation of his images pleased readers to whom the points of view and methods of science were growing habitual. All in all, to put briefly what might justifiably be discussed at length, the intellectual, emotional, and moral climate, the failure of the gospel of sweetness and light to satisfy a changing age, provided ideal soil for the growth of the reputation of a great foe of Elizabethan Petrarchanism.<sup>236</sup>

### XXIII

Likewise, the regeneration of Donne's fame was due in part to the penetration of certain individual critics, a factor greatly aided by Donne's characteristic appeal to individuals. In his own time, he wrote to a relatively small group, and, in the main, about highly personal aspects of experience, in the nineteenth century, his address was still distinctly personal. Readers were obliged to approach his work introspectively, necessarily each made his own discoveries and formulated his own opinions. Thus the older attitudes were the sooner challenged and tended the more rapidly to disappear. An example of Donne's individual appeal—interesting also in itself—is the reaction to his quaintness, a quality widely attributed to his work and all but universally disliked. For example, Deshler found most of the poems "repellent by reason of their sombreness, quaintness, and prosaic cast,"<sup>237</sup> and Sanders thought that his "obscurities and quaintnesses, and carelessness or eccentricity of execution" marred his "momentary bursts of the most suggestive music."<sup>238</sup> Grosart and Lightfoot took somewhat different views, though ones that were equally unfavorable

<sup>236</sup> Though on the score of time it is outside the compass of this paper, Mr Ashley Sampson's explanation of Donne's renewed reputation ("The Resurrection of Donne," *London Mercury*, XXXIII [1936], 307-14) is similar enough in basic tendency to justify comment here. Briefly, he attributed it to similarities between Donne's experiences and outlook on life and those of "the generation of poets who grew up in the War." Thus he recognizes that all but supremely great poets must wait for an age resembling theirs in its fundamental interests, fears, and faiths before they can come again into their own, once their contemporary popularity has died; from our survey it appears that he should have considered other factors as well as the results of the World War, inasmuch as the rebuilding of the reputation was well begun before 1900. Even so, his contribution should not be ignored, without doubt, the War was greatly influential in creating the sudden growth of that reputation after 1920. See too T. S. Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 8, and Williamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f., 165.

<sup>237</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 123. Jeffrey (*Edinburgh Review*, I [1802], 64) certainly betrayed no liking for "the quaintness of Quarles and Donne."

<sup>238</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 628.

to the quality itself: the former that his quaint images or allusions carry sometimes in their heart "some splendid thought altogether out of the beaten track,"<sup>239</sup> and the latter that "no quaintness of conception and no recklessness of style and no harshness of metre can hide the true poetic genius which flashed out from his nobler pieces."<sup>240</sup> None liked his quaintness, the latter two merely thought it more excusable. From this view, only Dante Gabriel Rossetti voiced whole-hearted dissent; on February 22, 1880, he wrote his brother William in high spirits: "I have been much enjoying Donne, who is full of excellences, and not brimming but rather spilling with quaintnesses."<sup>241</sup> Though it is significant that he found delightful the very quality by which a year before Deshler had been most distressed, the point of most immediate significance is that Donne the individualist inspired a highly individual, personal approach by his readers.

Thus some came to throw aside critical preconceptions and, in doing so and in penetrating beyond the externals of Donne's verse and discovering his integrity of emotion and feeling, his vigor, his subjectivity and humor, arrived at a higher estimate of him as a poet. In contrast to Johnson, Coleridge may be mentioned as perhaps the strongest individual influence in favor of Donne. Thorough study of his critical marginalia is impossible here, but even so, the very bulk of it proves his interested and thoughtful reading of Donne,<sup>242</sup> and the frequency with which some of his remarks were quoted testifies to his

<sup>239</sup> *Ed cit*, II, xxxiv

<sup>240</sup> *Op cit*, p. 4

<sup>241</sup> Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *His Family Letters*, with a memoir by William Michael Rossetti (London, 1895), II, 356

<sup>242</sup> He early proposed to write "2 Satires in the manner of Donne" (Lowe, *Road to Xanadu*, p. 25). In a letter of January, 1821, he wrote that he had materials prepared for a "Philosophical Analysis of the Genius and Works of" several authors, including Donne (*Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge* [London, 1836], I, 152). In his published writings, he quoted Donne now and then (*The Friend* [London, 1818], I, 192, *Aids to Reflection*, footnote to "Aphorism XXVIII", Derwent Coleridge's edition of *Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous* under "Text Sparring"), and made extensive marginal notes on Donne's sermons (*Notes on English Divines*, ed. Derwent Coleridge, London, 1853) and on his poems and letters (*Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*). In *Biographia Literaria* he commented on Donne's thoughts and language (*ed cit*, I, 15) and elsewhere in that work alluded to him in terms for the most part highly complimentary. See also *Lectures on Shakspeare* (*ed cit*, p. 358). Though not in the lecture as delivered, Donne was announced to be discussed with Dante and Milton in the tenth lecture of the 1818 series. Indeed, so sympathetic was Coleridge toward Donne that to such as Milman (*op cit*, p. 329) and Masson (*op cit*, I, 487) he represented an extreme in the over-estimation of Donne.

influence.<sup>343</sup> Though predominantly so, that influence was not entirely favorable: his lines concerning "Donne, whose muse on dromedary trots" were given wide attention.<sup>344</sup> Most of his remarks, however, can hardly be construed as other than complimentary; and that alone, in view of his weight with his contemporaries and those who followed, must have done much to further interest in Donne. In addition, he did far more: concerning several points of fundamental importance, he showed the way to more adequate appreciation. For example, in commenting on them, he asked, "Why are not Donne's volumes of sermons reprinted at Oxford?" When editing the *Table Talk*, Henry Nelson Coleridge added a strongly worded footnote, and thereafter echoes of this attitude were numerous.<sup>345</sup> Indeed, Alford made special reference to these remarks in accounting for his edition.<sup>346</sup> Furthermore, at the time when Donne's metrical peculiarities were a chief obstacle to his rehabilitation as a poet, he repeatedly wrote—and doubtless spoke even oftener—in explanation and praise of them.<sup>347</sup> His direction to "read even Donne's satires as he meant them to be read, and as the sense and passion demand, and you will find in the lines a manly harmony" was widely, though not universally, accepted<sup>348</sup>; thus he helped to shift the battle to a ground on which Donne's admirers might hope to triumph. Likewise, when describing

<sup>343</sup> See, besides those mentioned in the preceding and following notes, Sanders, *op cit*, p. 623, *Temple Bar*, XLVII (1876), pp. 337 f; Grosart's edition, I, 98, II, xxxviii, Bradford, *Naturalist*, p. 73; Deshler, *op cit*, pp. 123 ff. Everard Meynell (*Life of Francis Thompson* [London, 1913], pp. 164 f) gives some reason to believe that Coleridge guided Thompson to Donne, and to him Hazlitt attributed Godwin's taste for Donne (*Works*, ed. cit., IV, 212).

<sup>344</sup> The poem itself appeared in the *Literary Remains* (I, 148). It is quoted with approval in Cunningham's edition of Jonson (III, 474) and by Whipple (*op cit*, pp. 229 f). Mrs. Jamson (*op cit*, II, 95) quoted two lines as a "witty and imitative couplet." See Lowell, ed. cit., VI, 155.

<sup>345</sup> *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1836), p. 88. The reviewer for the *Quarterly* (LIX [1837], 6) repeated Coleridge's question and objected vigorously to the neglect of "one hundred and thirty sermons of the greatest preacher, at least, of the seventeenth century." See also Deshler, *op cit*, p. 123.

<sup>346</sup> Ed. cit., I, v. See also I, xxii.

<sup>347</sup> *Lectures on Shakspeare*, p. 427. Cp. the more extended remarks in Derwent Coleridge's *Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>348</sup> *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare*, ed. Ashe, p. 427. Cp. Coleridge's remark reprinted by Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 282. Sanders (*op cit*, p. 623) objected to Coleridge's defence; Norton (ed. cit., I, 239) as heartily approved. Cp. Symonds, as quoted on p. 139 and in note 35 *supra*. The tendency of more recent criticism of Donne's meter seems to indicate the soundness of Coleridge's method.

his wit, he praised Donne's "wonder-exciting vigour, intenseness, and peculiarity of thought"<sup>299</sup>; though the remark was brief, it threw into favorable relief qualities which have come to be valued more and more highly in Donne. In rebuilding Donne's reputation, as in many other fields, Coleridge must be regarded as a pioneer.

Though Gosse was scarcely correct that Donne was "consistently disregarded" by critics of the beginning of the century other than Coleridge,<sup>300</sup> certainly none of his contemporaries was so effective an advocate. Wordsworth took some little interest in him, but was far from enthusiastic<sup>301</sup>; Southey's attitude, balanced somewhat nicely between objection and favor,<sup>302</sup> gained little attention; and Hazlitt's influence, though he admitted knowing little of Donne,<sup>303</sup> was adverse: in his *Lectures on the Comic Writers*, he allowed the metaphysical poets few virtues<sup>304</sup>. Leigh Hunt found some good things in Donne,<sup>305</sup> even commending him to Shelley as "as free and deep a speculator in morals as yourself,"<sup>306</sup> though at the same time alluding to his coarseness and describing him as "one of those over-metaphysical-headed men, who can find out connections between everything and anything"; in *What is Poetry?* he placed him as an example of poets "whose taste is not proportionate to their mental perceptions. . . ; who . . . seem to look at nothing as it really is, but only as to what may be thought of it."<sup>307</sup> Byron considered Donne as a poet little more admirable than Lord Thurlow<sup>308</sup>; Campbell cited him as one of "the

<sup>299</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, ed. cit., I, 210. This was quoted with approval in Cunningham's edition of Jonson (III, 474).

<sup>300</sup> *Books on the Table* (London, 1921), p. 185.

<sup>301</sup> In the "Preface" (*Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. Nowell C. Smith [London, 1905], p. 13) he coupled him with Cowley, Dryden, and Pope in contrast to Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher; later he recommended (*ibid.*, pp. 246 f.) that Dyce include "Death, be not proud" in a collection of sonnets as "weighty in the thought and vigorous in the expression," even though "to modern taste it may be repulsive, quaint, and laboured."

<sup>302</sup> His remarks on Donne's meter have already been quoted (pp. 140, 145). The articles in the *Quarterly* attributed to him contained frequent remarks complimentary to Donne both as a divine and as a poet; in his commonplace books (ed. Warter, London, 1849-51), he entered passages from both the prose and poetry.

<sup>303</sup> *Ed. cit.*, V, 82.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 49 ff.

<sup>305</sup> *The Town*, II, 46 f.

<sup>306</sup> *Correspondence*, ed. Thornton Hunt (London, 1862), I, 149. Upon Shelley the advice apparently had little effect.

<sup>307</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>308</sup> *Works*, ed. Coleridge (London, 1905), VII, 19 f.



first examples of the worst taste which ever infected our poetry"<sup>299</sup>; and De Quincey, however high his opinion, wrote little concerning Donne's poetry, and that little appears not to have been widely effective.<sup>300</sup> Coleridge, then, with one possible exception, may be considered the greatest advocate of Donne in the first half of the century.

Lamb's influence, which may in some degree have rivalled Coleridge's, is less clear. We are sure of his fondness for Donne, Hazlitt naming him and Sir Philip Sidney as among Lamb's favorite authors.<sup>301</sup> Now and then he quoted a bit from the Dean of St. Paul's in one of his works<sup>302</sup>, he once wrote a few words in enthusiastic admiration of Donne's "warmth of soul and generous feeling"<sup>303</sup>, he did something to foster the popularity of "Elegie XVI"<sup>304</sup>; but Lamb's greatest influence may well have been personal. Hazlitt gives a vivid picture of Lamb reading that same elegy "with suffused features and a faltering tongue" to a group of literary friends who had been ridiculing one of Donne's more difficult passages.<sup>305</sup> Inasmuch as Hazlitt does not present the scene as anything unusual, either in Lamb's enthusiasm or the direction of it, and as it appears to have been Lamb's copy of the poems which Coleridge read and annotated,<sup>306</sup> one may well suspect what cannot be proved, that Lamb's influence was a major factor in the rebuilding of Donne's popularity.

Throughout the century, critics of these two sorts helped re-establish Donne's reputation: some like Coleridge by written—as well as spoken—opinions and others like Lamb chiefly through personal contacts. Members of the first group appeared in increasing numbers, as

<sup>299</sup> *Essay on English Poetry*, p. 170

<sup>300</sup> He was occasionally mentioned as an ardent admirer of Donne (Masson, *op cit*, I, 487, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., *Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw*, ed. Giffillan, p. xiv; Giffillan's *Specimens*, I, 203), Giffillan reprinting the whole of *Metempsychosis* (in *Specimens*) because of De Quincey's enthusiasm, even though he disagreed with it; but it is clear that Minto was conservative in saying that, for one who read the essay on rhetoric, twenty knew Johnson's *Lives* (*op cit*, p. 846). De Quincey wrote somewhat more at length in praise of Donne's prose than of his poetry; *Biathanatos* held considerable interest for him.

<sup>301</sup> *Ed cit*, VII, 36.

<sup>302</sup> *Ed cit*, IV, 14, and his letter to Bernard Barton on March 24, 1824.

<sup>303</sup> Edmund Blunden, *Charles Lamb and His Contemporaries* (New York and Cambridge, 1933), p. 145. Grosart quoted this passage (*ed cit*, II, xlvii).

<sup>304</sup> *Ed cit*, IV, 295.

<sup>305</sup> *Ed cit*, XII, 28 f.

<sup>306</sup> John Louis Haney, *Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 111. As one instance of Lamb's influence, see Milman, *op cit*, p. 325.

the manifold comments already quoted make clear; Alford<sup>367</sup> and Grosart, Swinburne and Gosse, E. K. Chambers and Dowden and Jusserand and Augustus Jessopp, and here in America Lowell,<sup>368</sup> Charles Eliot Norton,<sup>369</sup> Emerson,<sup>370</sup> and Gamaliel Bradford<sup>371</sup> may be mentioned. Naturally, comparatively few of Lamb's sort left more than hints of their enthusiasm and its results; but among them were Browning,<sup>372</sup> Sarah Orne Jewett,<sup>373</sup> Thoreau,<sup>374</sup> and, though he does

<sup>367</sup> Besides his edition of Donne, see *Life, Journal, and Letters of Henry Alford*, ed. by his widow (London, 1873), p. 112, and his *Pulpit Eloquence of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>368</sup> *Poems of John Donne*, ed. Lowell and Norton (New York, 1895), I, vii. "Donne's Poems were, from an early period of his life, among Mr. Lowell's favorite books. In 1855 an edition of them was included, I believe at his instance, in the series of 'British Poets' then in course of publication by Little, Brown & Company, in Boston." See also I, 220; *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, ed. Norton and Howe (Boston and New York, 1913), II, 224 f.; *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. Norton (New York, 1894), II, 284, 325, 344, 383, 428; *New Letters*, ed. Howe (New York and London, 1932), p. 118; *Works*, ed. cit., I, 229, 281, 381; II, 160; III, 35, 170 f., 348, 350; IV, 21 n., 230, VI, 80, 113, 140, 155; VII, 65 ff.; *Wordsworthiana*, pp. 172, 177.

<sup>369</sup> *Poems of John Donne*, ed. Lowell and Norton; *Letters*, ed. Norton and Howe, II, 200, 224 f., 299, 318, 396 f., 406, 407, 414.

<sup>370</sup> *Memoirs of a Hostess . . . Drawn Chiefly from the Diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields*, ed. M. A. De Wolfe Howe (Boston, 1922), p. 95. "February 20, 1869.—Heard Emerson again . . . ; we drank up every word eagerly. He read Donne, Daniel, and especially Herbert." See too *Works*, ed. cit., II, 175, 184; VIII, 53, 370 f.; *Journal*, II, 291, 347 f.; IV, 252, 254; VIII, 46; *Parnassus*, pp. 62, 70 f., 154, 180 f., 273, 517 (the preface contains the following: "This volume took its origin from an old habit of copying any poem or lines that interested me into a blank book."); *Letters*, ed. Rusk (New York, 1939), I, 10.

<sup>371</sup> In addition to *A Naturalist of Souls* and the *Journal*, see *Elizabethan Women* (New York, 1936), pp. 16 f.; *Saints and Sinners* (Boston and New York, 1932), pp. 69, 100; *Soul of Samuel Pepys* (Boston and New York, 1924), p. 228.

<sup>372</sup> Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (London, 1891), p. 44; the remarks of Grosart, ed. cit., dedication and II, xlv; Herford, *Robert Browning* (New York, 1905), p. 8; Duckworth, *Browning* (New York, 1932), p. 147; "The Two Poets of Croisic," I 912; *Letters*, ed. Wise, p. 205. The letters between Browning and Elizabeth Barrett frequently mention Donne. Significantly, the first time she spoke of him, she called him "Your Dr Donne"; later, in the *Book of the Poets*, her allusions to Donne were uniformly in a tone of high praise. Miss Ethel Bernstein's *Donne's Influence on Browning* (MS thesis in the Cornell University Library) treats the question at greater length than is possible here. See also Hermann Heuer, "Browning und Donne," *Englische Studien*, LXXII (1938), 227-44.

<sup>373</sup> F. O. Matthiessen, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (New York, 1929), pp. 64 f. In a letter to Mrs. Fields (*Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett*, ed. Fields [New York, 1911], p. 60), this occurs: "I have been reading an old copy of Donne's poems with perfect delight. They seem new to me just now, even the things I knew best. We must read many of them together."

<sup>374</sup> *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (New York, 1893), pp. 352, 391, 441; Van Doren, *Henry David Thoreau* (New York, 1916), pp. 101

not fall strictly within the period under discussion, Rupert Brooke.<sup>276</sup> These, each in his own degree and his own way, and many others, had a part in re-establishing the reputation of Donne; though the individual effect of each was small, their combined influence, together with the effect of various social and literary movements, was great; the revival, which reached a climax in the 1920's, came only as a result of the cooperation of all these factors

This, in some detail, is the story of the rebuilding of the reputation of a great poet, one who had once

Ruled as he thought fit  
The universal monarchy of wit,

and whose kingdom has been in some part restored. It is a record, as well, of old literary faiths abandoned and new ones accepted, of tastes and perceptions that changed and broadened with changing times, and, in chief, of a search for writers who could satisfy new demands by readers who looked to literature for the expression of what was deep within them. No one can believe that Donne's return to popularity was founded on less than an affinity between him and the *ethos* of a new era of man's experience. To be sure, the story has not been completely told. Those who wrote, and therefore may be quoted, must have been few compared to those who read and were thus the real support of the structure, nor, by any means, have all of the writers been quoted. Yet the bulk of Donne's nineteenth-century readers must have followed, though perhaps somewhat conservatively, the critics who showed the way to a fuller appreciation of the permanently significant aspects of his work. The honor Donne has received of late is otherwise incomprehensible.

<sup>276</sup> ff, Brooks, *Flowering of New England* (New York, 1936), p. 292; H. S. Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston, 1939), p. 189.

<sup>277</sup> "His most distinctively favourite poet was Donne" (Edward H. Marsh in the *Dictionary of National Biography*). Keynes recounts (*Bibliography of Dr John Donne*, p. ix) that it was "under the influence of Rupert Brooke" that he acquired an interest in Donne. See also Brooke's *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama* and the *Saturday Review* for April 25 and May 9, 1936.

# FUSULINIDS OF THE GRANITE FALLS LIMESTONE AND THEIR STRATIGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

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## INTRODUCTION

A fusulinid-bearing limestone has been known for some time to occur in Snohomish County, Washington, about three miles northeast of the town of Granite Falls and on the south side of Canyon Creek, a tributary to the south fork of Stillaguamish River. The rock is exposed in a limestone quarry near the east quarter corner of section 5, T. 30 N., R. 7 E.

Shedd (1913) has described the occurrence of the limestone as follows:

This limestone occurs on the south and east side of a hill which rises to a height of more than 200 feet above Canyon Creek. This deposit does not cover a very large area and lies high up on this hill so the deposit is not an especially large one. The limestone lies in contact with and on a dark basic rock and shows very little sign of stratification.

Norum Birger (1910) mentioned this locality as a fossil occurrence, and Harold E. Culver collected fusulinids from it in 1926.

The name of "Granite Falls limestone" is here applied to this fusulinid-bearing limestone. The main mass of the rock is cryptocrystalline calcite, more coarsely crystalline calcite is found filling the chambers of the fossils and in many small calcite veins which cut the rock in every direction. Fusulinids were the only fossils found in the rock. They occur as sharply defined pale spots thickly scattered through certain portions of the rocks. The fossils and the rock break with the same ease, so that a complete specimen cannot be freed from the rock. The present study is based upon a collection made by Culver and the writer in 1935 and upon samples donated by the State Division of Geology.

The purposes of this study are (1) the description of two species of fusulinids found in the Granite Falls limestone and the comparison of their characteristics with those of previously described fusulinids, (2) the determination of the age of the Granite Falls fusulinids, and (3) a discussion of the occurrence of fusulinids in Washington and British Columbia and the usefulness of the Granite Falls forms for further stratigraphic studies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The writer is grateful to Ralph L. Lupper and Harold E. Culver for thoughtful guidance during the course of the work.

## SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTIONS

## Order FORAMINIFERA

## Family FUSULINIDAE Moller, 1878

## Subfamily VERBEEKININAE Staff and Wedekind, 1910

## Genus NEOSCHWAGERINA Yabe, 1903

Genoholotype: *Neoschwagerina craticulifera* (Schwager) =  
*Schwagerina craticulifera* Schwager, 1883

*Neoschwagerina cascadiensis* Anderson, n. sp.

Plate I, Figures 1-2, Plate II, Figure 1.

**Description** The size of the figured specimen is 8.64 mm. by 6.09 mm., which is about average for the species. The largest individual noted in the collection was about 10 mm. long and 8 mm. wide. The form ratio of the last whorl in the longitudinal section is 1.4 to 1, which indicates a globose external form. The expansion is somewhat irregular, as shown by the height of the successive volutions in the following table:

2	_____	072 mm	7	_____	.145 mm	12	_____	.232 mm.
3	_____	109 mm.	8	_____	.181 mm.	13	_____	.217 mm.
4	_____	.130 mm	9	_____	.145 mm.	14	_____	.181 mm.
5	_____	.145 mm.	10	_____	.188 mm.	15	_____	.254 mm.
6	_____	196 mm	11	_____	.217 mm	16	_____	.290 mm.

In the sagittal section, the number of chambers in the last seven whorls are 22, 26, 28, 32, 34, 40, and 50. The figured longitudinal section has 16 volutions, and the sagittal section has 20. The largest specimen has 23 volutions

The wall is made up of a thin tectum and a thick keriotheca. Fine thread-like alveoli in the keriotheca extend from the tectum inward to the chamber, and in each septula the fine thread-like alveoli show a fine branching structure. The distance occupied by ten alveoli is about 0.14 mm.

Both septa and septula are present. The septa, formed by the in-bending of the shell wall, are spaced so that the chambers are wider than their height in the outer volutions and nearly equidimensional in the inner volutions. The septa are perforated along the base by a row of nine minute circular apertures. The septa are not fluted. One or two axial septula of various lengths are found as pendant growths of the keriotheca between each pair of septa. Well-developed spiral septula extend to the tectum of the preceding whorl and strong parachomata

are built up around the base of each. The spiral septula divide each long narrow septal chamber into a number of small chamberlets. Between some of the spiral septula are found secondary spiral septula.

The wall thickness in the 15th volution is 0.15 mm. to 0.25 mm., according to how much of a septula is included in the measurement. The proloculum is very small; its shape and size could not be determined. The axis is straight, and no axial filling is found.

*Discussion.* Dunbar (1932) redescribed *Neoschwagerina columbiana* (Dawson) from the Marble Canyon limestone of British Columbia. He compared the species with two oriental species, *N. margaritae* Deprat and *N. craticulifera* (Schwager), which he considered closely related to *N. columbiana*. Table 1 gives a comparison of the four species.

Table 1 Comparison of specific characteristics of *Neoschwagerina cascadenis* with other North American *Neoschwagerinas*

CHARACTER	<i>N. cascadenis</i>	<i>N. columbiana</i>	<i>N. margaritae</i>	<i>N. craticulifera</i>
Form	globose	globular	globular	thickly fusiform
Length	7.25 mm	8 mm	8 mm	5-8 mm
Breadth	5.07 mm	5.2 mm	up to 6 mm	—
Form Ratio	1.43 : 1	1.5 : 1	1.3 : 1	1.6 : 1
Volutions	16-23	18	18-20	12-15
Diameter of proloculum	minute	minute	60-80 mic	—
Wall thickness at 15th volu- tion	50-300 mic	60 mic.	80 mic	100 mic
Axial septula per chamber	1-2	3	2-5	1

Although a great deal of similarity is exhibited, *N. cascadenis* differs from the others in length, form ratio, and number of volutions. A decided difference is evident in the number of axial septula per

chamber—the Granite Falls form having one to two, *N. columbiana* three, *N. margaritae* two to five, and *N. craticulifera* one.

The writer believes that the differences between *N. cascadiensis* and the closely related species mentioned above are sufficient to establish *N. cascadiensis* as a new species.

*Distribution of Neoschwagerina* Species of *Neoschwagerina* have been found only in Permo-Carboniferous rocks of the Orient and on the west coast of North America Dunbar (1932) discusses the occurrence of *Neoschwagerina* as follows:

*Neoschwagerina* is the most complexly organized and one of the largest of the Paleozoic foraminifera. It is very abundant in some of the fusulina-limestones of the Orient where it forms one of the most distinctive elements of the Permian faunas. But in spite of a long range through the Permian system, it is strangely restricted in its distribution, being limited practically to Japan, southern China, Indo-China, India and East Indies. It seems to be entirely absent from Europe, and is almost unknown in America.

At the present time the occurrences of *Neoschwagerina* in North America are scarce. *N. columbiana* (Dawson) was described from the Marble Canyon limestone, which is a part of the Cache Creek series in British Columbia. The locality, Marble Canyon, is a wind gap between the valleys of Hat Creek and Fraser River northeast of Lillooet, British Columbia, and about two hundred miles north and east from Granite Falls. Dawson (1879) discovered the fossils and described them as *Loftusia columbiana*. Dunbar (1932) reexamined the fossils and referred them to the genus *Neoschwagerina*.

Staff (1912) mentioned two occurrences of *Neoschwagerina* in North America. *Neoschwagerina* cf. *craticulifera* in British Columbia and *Neoschwagerina* sp. indet. in California. These are the only known occurrences of *Neoschwagerina* from the continent of North America.

The following summary of the Oriental occurrences of *Neoschwagerina* is from Grabau (1924)

In Yunnanfu:

Beds of this Lower Permian (Upper Uralian?) series are well developed in the vicinity of Yunnanfu. About 10 miles southwest of Yunnanfu, at Tzu-men-lu (Long 102° 36' E, Lat 24° 58' N) isolated outcrops of hard bluish-gray limestone carry *N. craticulifera*.

The *Neoschwagerina* horizon is again found at Pu-erh-fu on the Black River (Pa-Pien-ho) about 50 miles east of Mekong (Long 101° 3' E, Lat 23° 5' N).

*Neoschwagerina craticulifera* occurs at Padang on the southwest coast of Sumatra. In Japan are found two series of limestone: the upper with *Schwagerina verbeeki* and *Neoschwagerina globosa*, and the lower with *Schwagerina verbeeki*, *Doliolina lepida*, *Neoschwagerina craticulifera*, and *Fusulina japonica*. In the northwest Chinese Basin:

In northern Kukunor and in the Semnaw Mountains, Permian *Doliolina* limestones are found presenting the following sub-divisions in the descending order

3 Pale red and gray limestones, the latter with occasional *Doliolina*

2 White oolitic limestone without fossils

1 Massive gray limestone with *Neoschwagerina craticulifera*, *Schwagerina verbeeki*, *Fusulina* sp., *Fusulinella* sp., and *Schwagerina princeps*.

*Geologic age of Neoschwagerina* Probably the nearest estimation of the age of *Neoschwagerina cascadiensis* can be made by taking into account the geologic age of closely related species. Dunbar (1925) in his discussion of *N. columbiana* concludes as follows concerning their age.

*Age of the beds at Marble Canyon*—The zonation of the Permian system in the Orient has been made difficult by the structural complexities and there is much disagreement among different workers as to the range of species in different provinces. Deprat originally stated that the horizon of *Neoschwagerina margaritae* was upper Middle Permian, but four pages later he indicated that it belongs in the Artinskian. Colani later restudied the Fusulinids of Indochina and stated that this species occurs in the Lower Permian, where it is associated with *Doliolina lepida*, and that it probably ranges up into the Middle Permian. Ozawa, on the contrary, states that *N. margaritae* is one of the commonest species in the upper horizon of the Akiyoshi Fusulina limestone of Nogato, Japan, and he regarded this horizon as Upper Permian. Likewise *N. craticulifera* was placed in the uppermost Ouralian (but above the *Schwagerina* zone) by Deprat, while Ozawa found it in two different faunas, one lower Permian (including *Doliolina lepida*) and the other Upper Permian.

So far as the intrinsic evidence of *N. columbiana* goes, it is therefore only possible to say that the limestone at Marble Canyon is Permian, though the absence from the slides of the more advanced structural types of *Yabzina* and *Sumatrina* suggest a Lower or Middle Permian age rather than Upper Permian.

*Neoschwagerina* has been found in beds ranging in age from Uralian through the Permian. There is an uncertainty among authorities as to whether or not the Uralian is a part of the Permian. According to Schuchert (1935), the Permian is divided into Lower (Uralian), Middle (Artinskian), and Upper (Kazanian-Zechstein). Deprat (1912-1915), on the other hand, places the upper Uralian below the lower Permian. Because of this unsettled question, it seems best to refer the



introduction of *Neoschwagerina* to the Uralian instead of to either Permian or Carboniferous.

*Neoschwagerina cascadenis* exhibits a close relationship to the other species of the genus which have been found only in Uralian and Permian rocks. Therefore the age of *N. cascadenis* is probably Uralian or Permian.

Subfamily SCHWAGERININAE Dunbar and Henbest, 1930

Genus LEEINA Galloway, 1933

Genoholotype, *Leeina fusiformis* (Schellwien) =  
*Fusulina vulgaris fusiformis* Schellwien, 1909.

*Leeina?* sp

Plate II, Figure 2.

*Description.* The figured longitudinal section has an expanded globular central portion and long spindle-like ends. The region between the central portion and the ends of the poles is concave externally. The size of the specimen is 11.04 mm by 3.68 mm., and the form ratio is about one to three. The proloculum is nearly spherical, having a diameter of about 0.15 mm. The shapes of each succeeding whorl grade from elliptical in the early whorls to the partially concave outer whorl. Instead of forming bluntly rounded ends, the walls of each volution extend outward along the poles and meet at an acute polar angle.

The septa are irregularly fluted, being intensely fluted near the poles and moderately fluted in the median portion. The septa of the early whorls are more intensely fluted than those of the outer whorls. The fluting in the outer whorls extends about half way up the septa near the medial portion of the shell and extends the entire height of the septa near the poles. A coarse to dense meshwork formed by the fluted septa near the poles is apparently supplemented by a solid axial filling which closely surrounds the axis of revolution, beginning with the third whorl and continuing outward. Weak chomata are found only in the third whorl and extend one-quarter to one-half way into the chamber. The axial angle as measured between the chomata in the third whorl is approximately thirty degrees.

The keriotheca is coarsely alveolar, ten alveoli occupying approximately 0.26 mm. Neither parachomata nor axial tunnels are present. The axis of the specimen is slightly curved at the extremity of the pole. This is probably a distortion brought about by conditions of



Plate I



Figure 1 *Neoschwagerina cascadenis*, n. sp. Paratype. Cross section showing the septa and axial septula. X13



Figure 2 *Neoschwagerina cascadenis*, n. sp. Enlarged section of figure 1 at the 16th and 17th whorls, showing the septa and septula. X80

Plate II



Figure 1 *Neoschwagerina cascadenus*, n. sp. Holotype. Axial section showing the spiral septula. X13

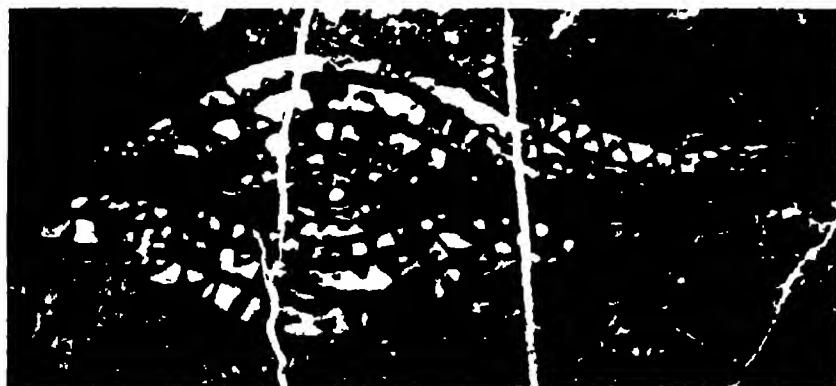


Figure 2 *Leema'* sp. Axial section showing the proloculum and the septal fluting. X13



burial and preservation. In the fifth volution the antetheca is 0.44 mm. high in the middle and 0.36 mm. high near the axis.

The following table gives, for each successive whorl, the height of the volution and the wall thickness, as measured along the shortest diameter, and the form ratios.

Whorl	Height	Wall Thickness	Form Ratio
1	.065 mm.	.036 mm.	1 to 2.5
2	.145 mm.	.065 mm.	1 to 3
3	.217 mm.	.072 mm.	1 to 3
4	.290 mm.	.086 mm.	1 to 2.4
5	.435 mm.	.137 mm.	1 to 2.6
6	.471 mm.	.145 mm.	1 to 3

*Discussion.* In the classification by Dunbar and Condra (1927), where axial fillings is not considered, this specimen conforms most closely to the genus *Triticites*. It does not, however, possess strongly developed chomata, which are specified in the description of *Triticites*. In the classification by Galloway (1933), *Leeina* is distinguished from *Triticites* by the lack of well-developed chomata and the presence of an axial filling. The possession of these two characteristics by the Granite Falls specimen indicated a closer affinity to *Leeina* than to *Triticites*.

This specimen doubtfully belongs to the genus *Leeina* because of the difference in the coarseness of the alveoli. Ten alveoli in the specimen occupy 0.26 mm., whereas in *Leeina* ten alveoli occupy from 0.15 mm. to 0.20 mm. The partial concavity of the outer shell of the specimen is not mentioned in the description of the genus *Leeina*, although it is given as a specific characteristic of *Triticites obesa* Beede (1916). The axial filling of the Granite Falls specimen is more slender than that of the genus *Leeina*. The sharp polar angle made by the shell walls was not mentioned in any fusulinid description reviewed by the writer.

According to Galloway (1933), weakened chomata, irregular septal fluting, large spherical proloculum, and axial filling indicate advanced phylogenetic stages beyond the fusulinids having strong chomata, regular septal fluting, small spherical proloculum, and no axial filling. The coarse alveoli, the peculiar concave portions of the outer shell, the especially slender axial filling, and the acute polar angle made by the shell walls are probably specialized characteristics, which upon further investigation may prove to be sufficiently important to establish a new genus distinct from *Leeina*.

*Age of Leeina? sp.* The genoholotype of *Leeina* (*L. fusiformis* [Schellwien]=*Fusulina vulgaris fusiformis* Schellwien) was found in the Lower Uralian of Darwas, Turkestan. The age of the genus *Leeina* is Upper Pennsylvanian and Permian. *Triticites* is found widely over the world and is restricted to the upper Pennsylvanian and lower Permian. The range of *Leeina* and *Triticites* taken together is upper Pennsylvanian and Permian. The close relationship between the Granite Falls form and the genera *Leeina* and *Triticites* corroborates the evidence furnished by *Neoschwagerina*, so that the age of the Granite Falls limestone is indicated to be Upper Pennsylvanian or Permian.

#### STRATIGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FUSULINIDS

*General statement* The presence of *Neoschwagerina cascadiensis* and *Leeina? sp.* is of interest because of the indicated relationships to previously described forms. They are especially valuable because they represent a chronologic unit which may be recognized elsewhere in the upper Paleozoic rocks of Washington and British Columbia. To point out the significance of this occurrence of the fusulinids of the Granite Falls limestone more fully, and to introduce possible correlative rocks, other fusulinid localities of Washington and British Columbia are taken up below.

*Leech River series.* Fusulinids were found in the Leech River series of the San Juan Islands by McLellan (1927), who states:

The limestones are usually recrystallized but along the shore of Orcas Island, to the north of Mount Constitution Range, some of them contain microfossils in abundance. Among these fossils the foraminifer, *Fusulina* is perhaps the most abundant. Some of the beds are composed largely of small fragments of corals and other larger fossils, together with scattered specimens of *Fusulina*. The fossil-bearing limestones are probably located several thousand feet above the base of the Leech River group, with several distinct types of lithology intervening. It is probable that the lower members of the Leech River group are Mississippian in age, and that the uppermost members are of Permian and possibly Triassic age.

*Marble Canyon limestone.* Marble Canyon is a wind gap between the valleys of Hat Creek and Fraser River northeast of Lillooet, British Columbia. It is about two hundred miles north and east from Granite Falls, Washington. Dawson (1879) found fusulinids in the Marble Canyon limestone. He described one species as *Loftusia columbiana* (= *Neoschwagerina columbiana* [Dawson] Dunbar) and writes of the limestone and its fossil content as follows:

In certain beds of the limestone of Marble Canyon, the *Loftusia* occurs almost to the exclusion of other forms, characterizing the rock, and having been the agents in its production just as *Fusulinae* occur in the best examples of *Fusulina* limestone, or *Globigerinae* in the Atlantic ooze. The typical and most abundant form of *Loftusia*-limestone is a pale or dark-grey cryptocrystalline rock, in which the more perfect specimens of *Loftusia* appear thickly crowded together, as paler spots, generally pretty sharply defined. The limestone breaks freely in any direction, the fracture passing equally through the matrix and included organisms which it is impossible to separate from the stone.

*Neoschwagerina columbiana* and *N. cascadiensis* resemble each other in many respects and are apparently closely related.

*Chilliwack series.* Fusulinids have been reported from the Chilliwack series at the 49th parallel by Daly (1912). Fossils collected from a massive limestone near Monument 45 and studied by G. H. Girty include *Fusulina elongata* Shumard.

*Mt Pilchuck.* The occurrence of *Fusulina* on Mt Pilchuck was described by Weaver (1912). This locality is about eight miles east by southeast from Granite Falls. Weaver believes that the rocks containing the fossils belong to the Gunn Peak formation.

*Summary.* The presence of fusulinids in the Leech River series, Marble Canyon limestone, Chilliwack series, and on Pilchuck Mountain indicates the widespread occurrence of these forms in Washington and British Columbia. With further paleontologic and stratigraphic work, it is probable that some, if not all, of these rocks can be correlated in part with the Granite Falls limestone on the basis of fusulinids.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Granite Falls limestone contains two species of fusulinids, namely *Neoschwagerina cascadiensis*, n. sp. and *Leeina*? sp. The time indicated by the described fusulinids in the Granite Falls limestone is within the limits of upper Pennsylvanian and Permian time. The presence of *Neoschwagerina cascadiensis* in the Granite Falls limestone and *Neoschwagerina columbiana* in the Marble Canyon limestone indicates a possible close faunal relationship between these two formations.

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## NOTE ON NATIONAL MORALE AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

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In a cooperative research project directed by the writer, college students in the State College of Washington, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, University of New Hampshire, Midwestern University,<sup>1</sup> and Johnson C. Smith University (colored, North Carolina) were administered the Washington State Survey of Opinion. This survey is a scale designed to measure national morale.<sup>2</sup> The scale and an accompanying fact sheet were administered on October 1,<sup>3</sup> 1941, to 477 students at the five cooperating institutions.<sup>4</sup> All results presented here are of that date.

Among the significant findings is the discovery that no relationship exists between age and morale or between sex and morale in the college population. Ranking the schools in order of national morale, we find that Oklahoma exhibits highest morale. Smith, New Hampshire, and Washington State are so close together as to be almost tied for an intermediate position. Midwestern University, located in the Middle West, ranks definitely lower in comparison with the other schools. These results seem to show that college students reflect the sentiments prevailing in their respective areas.<sup>5</sup> For Washington State students this conclusion is further verified by the discovery that a representative sample of eighty-seven adults of Pullman, Washington, received a national morale score almost identical with that of the Washington State students.

Background factors were examined for an insight into the thought and action patterns characterizing the college population in 1941-42.

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<sup>1</sup>Midwestern University is a fictitious name to represent an Indiana College whose administration requested that identity be withheld.

<sup>2</sup>For a definition of national morale and a description of the scale, see Delbert C. Miller, "The Measurement of National Morale," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 487-98.

<sup>3</sup>Though dated September, the present issue was run off after October 1—Edd

<sup>4</sup>The writer is indebted to the following professors, who administered the scale in their respective institutions. William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Joseph E. Bachelder, University of New Hampshire; R.M.D., Midwestern University; M. E. Thomasson, Smith University.

<sup>5</sup>The Public Opinion polls show that sections rank in interventionist sentiment as follows (1) South, (2) Middle Atlantic and New England States, (3) Pacific Coast and Mountain States, and (4) East and West Central States.

Table I is a compilation of the data secured. The writer believes that the data presented will be useful to administrators and teachers in recognizing some of the problems faced by college youth during the critical year ahead.

Table I Action and Belief Patterns of Response Exhibited in a College Population on October 1, 1941

	Response Characteristic	Percentage Marked					Smith Univ. (Colored) N=90
		Percentage Average N=477	Washington State N=100	Oklahoma A-M N=100	New Hampshire N=87	Mid-western N=100	
Sex	Males	53.2	52	53	40	45	76
	Females	46.8	48	47	60	55	24
Rank	Jr. Col.	63.4	62	44	60	51	100
	Sr. Col.	36.6	38	56	40	49	0
Did you give up a job on which you could have been steadily employed for the rest of the college year in order to come back to college in 1941-42?	Yes	40.8	40	42	37	37	48
	No	53.8	46	50	62	58	48
	Doubtful	6.0	13	7	1	5	4
	No data	0.4	1	1	0	0	0
Do the members of your family approve of your desire to acquire college training this year?	Yes	97.6	98	98	94	100	98
	No	4	0	0	1	0	1
	Doubtful	1.8	1	2	5	0	1
	No data	2	1	0	0	0	0
Do you feel that things are going well with you at the present time?	Yes	80.4	80	85	83	78	76
	No	4.8	4	6	8	2	6
	Doubtful	14.0	15	8	9	20	18
	No data	8	1	1	2	0	0
Are you confident that funds will be available to keep you in college for the entire year?	Yes	76.8	79	72	79	92	62
	No	6.2	5	8	7	2	9
	Doubtful	16.8	16	20	13	6	29
	No data	2	0	0	1	0	0
Do you think your family at home feel that they have a regular income during the next year?	Yes	78.6	88	79	78	86	62
	No	6.4	5	7	8	9	3
	Doubtful	14.0	6	14	13	5	32
	No data	1.0	1	0	1	0	3
Men: Have you a draft number?	Yes	22.0	33	30	31	9	7
	No	78.0	67	70	69	91	93
	No data	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you expect to be called for military service this year?	Yes	9.0	3	4	26	7	0
	No	89.8	88	94	74	93	100
	No data	1.2	4	2	0	0	0
Women: Do you have a brother, father, or sweetheart who has been or will be soon called for military service?	Yes	57.4	50	72	48	58	59
	No	40.4	46	28	50	42	36
	No data	2.2	4	0	2	0	5

Table I (continued)

		Percentage Marked					
	Response Characteristic	Percentage Average N=477	Washington State N=100	Oklahoma A.-M. N=100	New Hampshire N=87	Middle-western N=100	Smith Only (Colored) N=90
Have you given any volunteer work or contribution to any groups sending money or clothes to Britain or her allies?	Yes	43.8	37	29	61	52	40
	No	56.6	63	70	39	48	58
	No data	6		1			2
Have you bought any U.S. Bonds or Defense Saving Stamps?	Yes	14.0	15	8	26	12	9
	No	86.0	85	92	74	88	91
	No data	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you belong to any organization protesting U.S. entry into war?	Yes	3.4	2	4	4	6	1
	No	96.4	98	96	95	94	99
	No data	2	0	0	1	0	0
Do you think the U.S. will be drawn into a war which will require sending an expeditionary force abroad?	Yes	54.0	43	58	62	47	60
	No	18.2	16	14	13	17	32
	Doubtful	27.2	40	27	25	36	8
	No data	6	1	1	1	0	0
Do you think the war will force you to leave college before your education is completed?	Yes	30.2	31	22	30	25	43
	No	67.2	63	76	69	75	53
	No data	2.6	6	2	1	0	4
In spite of what you may wish, who do you think will win this war?	Dont know	20.0	28	16	8	31	27
	Britain with our supplies	14.2	19	7	21	14	16
	Britain if we convoy enough supplies to her ports	25.2	23	25	30	24	14
	Britain only if we send our army, navy and air force	31.6	26	27	33	28	34
	Germany	2.6	0	3	1	3	6
	Stalinate	5.0	8	1	6	10	0
	No data	1.4	2	1	1	0	3

## CHRISTABEL, COLERIDGE, AND THE COMMENTATORS<sup>1</sup>

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Few poets have bequeathed to posterity so many puzzling questions as the artist-philosopher Coleridge. And among these questions none is more insistent than this: what shall we make of *Christabel*? Time was—and not so long ago either—when it was sufficient to say, as the poet did of his heroine, "Beautiful, exceedingly." The poem was long regarded as an isolated miracle of wayward, unpredictable genius. It remained a fragment, and better so, thought the commentators; for not even the author could conceivably have controlled the unearthly inspiration which prompted it. There were, of course, numerous bits of knowledge associated with *Christabel*: the curious parallels of phrasing in Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals*; the unique pre-publication currency of the poem among Scott and other admirers; brief notes of possible sources for various details; and that odd, doubtful plan for completing the poem, recorded by Gillman. But these points were separate bits of antiquarian lore; they were little used to make the poem itself more intelligible.<sup>2</sup>

In 1927 the brilliant volume of Professor Lowes on "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan,"<sup>3</sup> I believe it is not too much to say, presented to us a new Coleridge, encyclopedic in his knowledge and consciously artistic in his method. This Coleridge, it is true, was not the complete man, for the philosopher emphasized by Muirhead, Richards, and Stephen Potter<sup>4</sup> is largely absent from the pages of Professor Lowes. But though he slighted Coleridge the philosopher, Professor Lowes brilliantly illuminated Coleridge the artist. "The Ancient Mariner" became intelligible as the product of a unique but knowable mind: it ceased to be the isolated miracle of a wayward, unpredictable genius. In the light of this new conception it was inevitable that *Christabel*, which as Professor Lowes said, "failed to include itself" in *The Road*

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<sup>1</sup> In slightly different form this paper was read at a meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, November 22, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> This information was conveniently assembled in James Dykes Campbell's edition of *The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1893), pp. 601-07; and somewhat more fully in Ernest Hartley Coleridge's edition of *Christabel* (London, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> *The Road to Xanadu* (New York, 1927).

<sup>4</sup> John Muirhead, *Coleridge as Philosopher* (New York, 1930); I. A. Richards, *Coleridge on Imagination* (New York, 1934); Stephen Potter, *Coleridge and S.T.C.* (London, 1935).

to *Xanadu*, should be re-examined; and several studies have put before us a great deal of new fact. In this paper I wish to answer two questions which lead, I think, to an acceptable synthesis of the work of various scholars.

First, how is *Christabel* related to Coleridge's stock of knowledge? As Professor Lowes has shown us, it was Coleridge's imaginative reading of scores of old travel books that enabled him, a stay-at-home landlubber, to write so vividly of icebergs, watersnakes, and ships becalmed in tropic seas.<sup>5</sup> Were the events and circumstances of *Christabel* similarly grounded in Coleridge's reading? To this question E. H. Coleridge in the 1907 edition provided only a very sketchy answer. Coleridge's possible indebtedness to occult literature, ballads, Gothic romances, and legends was briefly speculated upon. But the editor did not attempt to give detailed support to his conviction that the poet "must have read widely and deeply, and taken infinite pains to acquaint himself with the niceties of wizardry and fascination . . ."<sup>6</sup>

In 1938 Mr. Donald Tuttle made a careful examination of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, with emphasis on three particular ballads; two novels of Mrs. Radcliffe and one by Mary Robinson, and Lewis's *Monk*.<sup>7</sup> That Coleridge was familiar with these works is indisputable: his fondness for Percy is well known, and in 1926 Garland Greever identified and republished Coleridge's reviews of the four novels—reviews contributed to periodicals between 1794 and 1798.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Tuttle's analysis takes the familiar form of parallel passages, and the familiar objections are in order. Is it really true, as Mr. Tuttle implies, that the lines from the ballad "Sir Cauline":

Home then pricked Syr Cauline  
As light as leafe on tree.

can in any real sense be regarded as the "source" of the famous passage

The one red leaf, the last of its clan  
even though Coleridge did state that it hung "light" upon the tree?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Coleridge's first sea voyage was the trip to Germany in September, 1798, by which time *Lyrical Ballads* was in print. His longest voyage, to Malta, was not made until 1804.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Reuel Tuttle, "Christabel Sources in Percy's *Reliques* and the Gothic Romances," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 445-74.

<sup>8</sup> *A Wiltshire Parson and his Friends, The Correspondence of William Lisle Bowles Together with Four Hitherto Unidentified Reviews by Coleridge* (Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 165-200.

<sup>9</sup> Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

Yet Mr. Tuttle certainly demonstrates that these ballads and Gothic romances involved many of the details of which the atmosphere of *Christabel* was compounded: the heroine's name; the wrenched accent of words like "countree"; the crowing cock, the owl, and the mastiff bitch; the huge oak tree with a touch of green; the confusion of the wind with moaning; the iron gate, the quiet castle, the dying embers of the fire, the feeble lamp, and the armor on the wall. As for plot, Mr. Tuttle shows us parallels of the lady abducted by five ruffians; the lady fainting on entering her feminine rescuer's bedroom; the corse-like apparition; the disembodied guardian spirit; the haunted dreams of the lady rescuer, the tears in sleep; the feud between old family friends; the lady who falls at the feet of her offended father; and the false lady of serpentine character who bewitches the beautiful daughter.<sup>10</sup>

Though one may object to a detail here and there, and to some over-emphasis of the obvious, Mr. Tuttle's conclusion must, I think, in the main be accepted:

In short, every important episode of Part I of *Christabel* shows the influence of the ballads and Gothic romances, and most of those of Part II, with the notable exception of the Bard Bracy passages. Most of the lines uninfluenced by these sources seem . . . inferior to those drawn from the multitude of familiar images and events stored up from his reading.<sup>11</sup>

"Influence," it is true, is a controversial word, and may be objected to. But that Coleridge's acquaintance with these ballads and romances made many of the elements of *Christabel* more familiar is hardly to be questioned. And it is worth knowing. It is therefore rather difficult to see why Mr. Nethercot, in his recently published *Road to Tryermaine*,<sup>12</sup> so impatiently brushes aside Mr. Tuttle's whole argument as unconvincing and unimportant.

Following up hints of E. H. Coleridge and Lowes, Mr. Nethercot himself is chiefly concerned to trace Coleridge's knowledge of demonology and superstition. We are reminded that the Manchester Philosophical Transactions were available to Coleridge at Bristol, and that in the third volume of the series is a notable treatment of demonology by John Ferriar, with references to some hundred and fifty recondite

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, *passim*. Tuttle presents these parallels in the sequence in which they are found in the "sources." When rearranged, as here, in the sequence of the poem, they are even more convincing.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 474

<sup>12</sup> Arthur H. Nethercot, *The Road to Tryermaine* (Chicago, 1939) See especially pp. 194-96.

sources.<sup>13</sup> Of these, Calmet and Voltaire are most likely to have been consulted by Coleridge. It is not certain that he did consult them—or that he read Ferriar. But Mr. Nethercot is persuaded that Geraldine was a vampire, and hence his argument goes in this cycle: Geraldine was a vampire, and therefore Coleridge probably read those accessible authors who deal with vampires; and again, since Coleridge probably read those authors, it is likely that Geraldine is a vampire. Less conjectural evidence that Coleridge knew about vampires is found, as Mr. Nethercot shows, in the simple fact that Southey employed them in *Thalaba* (1801). Mr. Nethercot also describes at length possible sources of Coleridge's possible knowledge of lamias, ophiology, ocular fascination, the mark of the beast, the transmigration of souls, and guardian spirits. A vast and startling literature is described which would undeniably have fascinated Coleridge. But *did* he read it? Mr. Nethercot adds little to our certain knowledge. Still, probabilities are something for the mind to use, and the reader of *The Road to Tryermaine* turns from it feeling that *Christabel* is less isolated, more knowable in terms of the demonology and superstitions of which it is the quintessence. There is, however, no reason why one may not regard the ballads and Gothic romances—which Coleridge *certainly* read—and the demonologies—which he *probably* read—as supplementary and related, both in Coleridge's mind and in *Christabel*. Mr. Nethercot has done us a disservice in belittling the work of Mr. Tuttle.

The second question is: How do these surveys of Coleridge's source material affect our conception of what he was trying to do in the poem? Since the poem remains a fragment, the question is highly speculative, but speculation on such a point is inevitable. Mr. Tuttle sees *Christabel* as a Gothic romance, the epitome of conventional elements transformed by the magic of style. Therefore he decries the necessity of any elaborate moral interpretation; and he even hints that in the weakly romantic endings customary in Gothic romance there may have been a deterrent to Coleridge's completing the tale.<sup>14</sup>

This whole conception of *Christabel* as a mere apotheosis of Gothic romance is indignantly rejected by Mr. Nethercot. He very properly points out Coleridge's objection to the Gothic romance because it is "incapable of exemplifying moral truth."<sup>15</sup> Hence it is likely that, if

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-79 and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

<sup>15</sup> Nethercot, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Greever, *op. cit.*, p. 192.



Coleridge himself attempted a Gothic romance, he would try to adapt it so as to avoid this common defect. Mr Nethercot conceives of *Christabel* as a romance of the preternatural; that is to say, of the improbable but not impossible events in the communication of spirits with mortals. He accepts Derwent Coleridge's interpretation of Christabel's sufferings as vicarious, and Geraldine as "no witch or goblin . . . but a spirit executing her appointed task."<sup>16</sup> Filling in this conception of Geraldine, Mr Nethercot identifies her as a vampire, an unwilling and therefore pitiable figure as she torments Christabel; for vampires are traditionally the result of infection rather than criminal impulse. Fused with this conception, Mr. Nethercot thinks, is the legendary figure of the lamia, the being condemned to life as a serpent-woman for some past sin and endowed with occult powers of fascination.<sup>17</sup>

This interpretation of Geraldine is plausible and suggestive. In these and other traditional patterns of superstition Coleridge may well have found the materials for his puzzling protagonist. Speculation on such wizardry would have gone far to help him transform the superficial marvels of Gothic romance into an imaginative representation of moral truth.

There was, however, another turn in the road to Tryermaine which Coleridge followed—a turn unnoticed by Mr. Nethercot—just as on the road to Xanadu the slippery genius escaped the vigilance of Professor Lowes. It will be remembered that Professor Lowes presented Coleridge as an artist, a consummate, if temporary, master of the shaping spirit. It was Miss Waples who several years later pointed out that, in addition, Coleridge embodied in "The Ancient Mariner" his philosophical credo of 1798—the necessitarianism of David Hartley.<sup>18</sup> Miss Waples showed that the Mariner went through every stage of Hartleian progress, from sensation to the moral sense. This emphasis of the philosophical background of the poem in no way detracts from Professor Lowes' work, but it does supplement it importantly. "The Ancient Mariner" becomes still more intelligible if Coleridge's shaping spirit is shown to have worked in harmony with his known philosophical beliefs.

Now if this is the truth regarding "The Ancient Mariner"—and I do not see how Miss Waples can be refuted—what bearing does

<sup>16</sup> Nethercot, *op cit*, p. 206. Derwent Coleridge's interpretation appears in his edition of his father's *Poems*, [1870], p. xlii; it is quoted in *Christabel*, *op cit*, p. 52.

<sup>17</sup> Nethercot, *op cit*, pp. 77-78, 105, 127-28.

<sup>18</sup> Dorothy Waples, "David Hartley in 'The Ancient Mariner,'" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXXV (1936), pp. 337-51.

Hartley have on *Christabel*, a poem written within two years of the "Mariner"? Elsewhere in this issue of *Research Studies* Mrs Kitzhaber's article gives a detailed and, I believe, convincing answer to this question. Briefly summarized, her argument may also be related to other interpretations of the poem. To begin with, Mrs. Kitzhaber asserts, *Christabel* is Hartleian in its strong suggestion that good will somehow triumph over evil; that is to say, in its moral optimism. Moreover, events of the poem follow each other with necessitarian inevitability. And the characters seem to be acted upon, rather than to act. This is true of the two parts which we have, and these Hartleian elements would be even more fully developed through the plan which Gillman transmitted as Coleridge's intention for the completed poem. In this plan Bracy's trip to Lord Roland's castle exposes Geraldine as an impostor. She disappears, only to reappear in the guise of Christabel's lover. In this second design against *Christabel* she is foiled by the return of the true lover, for whom Christabel's vicarious suffering would be fully developed and brought to an optimistic conclusion. Throughout the chain of events, Christabel would be acted upon, just as the Mariner was, in orthodox Hartleian fashion.

Some years ago I published an argument for the acceptance of Gillman's report of the plan as authentic.<sup>19</sup> The action sketched in Gillman's account does complete the action begun in Parts I and II; Geraldine's impersonation of Christabel's lover would form a fitting sequel to her earlier impersonation of the daughter of an old family friend; and the various episodes would lend themselves as well to the witchery of Coleridge's style as to exemplifying the optimistic morality of Hartleian philosophy. External evidence regarding Gillman's account is puzzling in some details—for example, Wordsworth's opinion that Coleridge never had any plan for completing the poem. Such evidence, however, is hardly enough to outweigh Coleridge's repeated claim that he did have a plan, and the inherent excellence of the scheme Gillman reported.

This argument Mr Nethercot has dismissed without analysis. It may be inferred, perhaps, that his chief reason for rejecting it is that

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<sup>19</sup> "Coleridge's Plan for Completing *Christabel*," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIII (1936), pp 437-55. Nethercot, p. 207, has curiously misread Tuttle's footnote reference to my article, and made me out a witness, with Tuttle, to the "non-moral" interpretation of the poem. The clear intent of my discussion (pp 452-53) supports Mr Nethercot's own acceptance of Derwent Coleridge's elucidation.

the plan reported by Gillman does not give his vampire-Geraldine adequate opportunity to display her abilities. This would imply that the poem, if completed, would have offered us the grisly horrors of vampire legends instead of the quieter mysteries detailed by Gillman. Though I find Mr. Nethercot's suggestions regarding Geraldine plausible and interesting, it seems unlikely that Coleridge would have gone far in developing the vampire character in her. That every reader previous to Mr. Nethercot has been fascinated by Geraldine without specifically identifying her as a vampire is perhaps just the effect the subtle Coleridge desired and would have striven to sustain. And if this is true, the vampire ancestry of the fascinating lady is of only minor assistance in interpreting the poem. Both Mr. Nethercot and Mr. Tuttle, however, have brought us in closer touch with the brooding mind of Coleridge and the strange fancies that there became familiar. The Hartleian philosophy by which he then steered helps us to understand the difference between Gothic romances and *Christabel*; and his abandonment of that philosophy shortly after 1800 suggests another reason why he failed to finish the poem. Acceptance of the plan reported by Gillman as authentic is but one more step in recognizing *Christabel* not as an isolated miracle, but as the fine unfinished creation of an artist-philosopher.

#### A NOTE ON LESSING'S *NATHAN*

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In "Lessing and Hawkesworth,"<sup>1</sup> I suggested that a portion of the love story of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779) may have been derived from John Hawkesworth's *Almorán and Hamet* (1761), pointing out striking resemblances between the two works. Doctor Lawrence M. Price kindly called to my attention that a part of Hawkesworth's *The Adventurer* had been translated in 1776 by Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, who was a special friend of Lessing and had been associated with the famous dramatist and critic in a publishing business. This evidence greatly strengthens the case, for, if Lessing obtained access to *Almorán and Hamet* in no other way, he is likely to have become acquainted with the romance through Bode. Accordingly, there is a strong probability that Lessing used *Almorán and Hamet* as a source for *Nathan*.

<sup>1</sup> *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, VIII (1940), 143-44.

## DAVID HARTLEY IN *CHRISTABEL*<sup>1</sup>

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In all of the various interpretations of Coleridge's *Christabel*,<sup>2</sup> a poem which has long been a puzzle to critics, there is not to be found a single philosophical explanation. We may wonder at this when it is recalled that Coleridge was constantly preoccupied with philosophy from the time of his schoolboy ardor for Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists to his mature understanding of the German metaphysicians.

The philosophical approach has already yielded tangible results in the interpretation of Coleridge. Miss Dorothy Waples in her article "David Hartley in the *Ancient Mariner*" (1936)<sup>3</sup> has been successful in showing definite Hartleian elements throughout the poem. Hartley's philosophy<sup>4</sup> is based on the theory that everything begins with sensation. A repeated sensation becomes a permanent idea, and if it is repeated simultaneously with other sensations often enough, the two become associated and form a new permanent idea. Most of man's ideas are formed by this kind of association. Man progresses through seven increasingly complex stages of association, leading to "ultimate morality," the highest state he can reach. The seven stages in order of experience are sensation, imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy, theopathy, and the moral sense. Hartley's philosophy, which is primarily religious, is based on this psychology. By association of ideas man arrives inevitably at love of God and the truths of the Christian religion. The major ideas to be deduced from this philosophy are its

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<sup>1</sup> This article presents the chief findings reported in a Master's thesis (State College of Washington, June, 1940).

<sup>2</sup> Derwent Coleridge was the earliest constructive critic. He and James Gillman, with whom Coleridge lived for eighteen years, have asserted that the poet intended to complete the ballad, and Gillman quotes the plan which he says Coleridge outlined for the conclusion (*The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Derwent Coleridge, London [1870], and James Gillman, *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Vol. I [London, 1838]). Professor B. R. McElderry, Jr. ("Coleridge's Plan for Completing *Christabel*," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIII [1936], 437-455) has supplemented this idea in a comprehensive discussion of the probabilities of the plan. Donald P. Tuttle ("Christabel Sources in Percy's Reliques and Gothic Romances," *PMLA*, LIII [1938], 445-74) maintains that *Christabel* can be explained by placing it in the school of Gothic romances, to which, incidentally, Coleridge was much opposed. Arthur H. Nethercot, the latest critic (*Road to Tryermaine*, Chicago, 1939) has attempted to explain the ballad by an investigation of the literature of mesmerism, and that of vampires and lamias.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXXV (1936), 337-51.

<sup>4</sup> David Hartley, *Observations on Man* (3 vols., London, 1791).

optimism—good inevitably triumphs; its determinism—every effect has a cause and in any given situation there can be only one outcome; and its ultimate arrival at God, or good

Miss Waples shows that in "The Ancient Mariner" the development of the Mariner followed exactly the order in which man's soul progressed in Hartley—from sensation through all the steps to the moral sense. Unresponsive to the wild beauty of the sea, the Mariner shot the albatross, but felt no regret until his imagination began to awaken fear. Then ambition, or concern for the opinion of others, forced him to feel guilty; self-interest introduced him to death and caused him to be repelled by it in a truly Hartleian fashion. At length sympathy enabled him to bless the water snakes and thence led directly to theopathy and the love of God.

In addition to what Miss Waples has pointed out, the influence of Hartley is to be found in poems much earlier than the "Mariner." In 1794 it was to be seen in "Religious Musings," the predominant ideas of which are that there is a unity and necessity ruling the universe; that all things will eventually lead to good; and that the human soul progresses from evil to good in the very steps which Hartley suggests. Whoever can escape his own small interest can—with Hartleian steps of fear, hope, faith, and love—view all creation:

And first by *Fear* [Christ] uncharmed the drowsed Soul  
Till of its nobler nature it 'gan feel  
Dim recollections, and thence soared to *Hope*  
Strong to believe whate'er of mystic good  
The Eternal dooms for his immortal sons  
From *Hope* and firmer *Faith* to perfect *Love*  
Attracted and absorbed . . .

Man, a "sordid solitary thing" until he looks away from self, is led to love God by sympathy:

When he by sacred sympathy might make  
The whole one Self!

. . . .  
This is the Messiah's destined victory!<sup>1</sup>

Hence evil eventually leads to good. Even the traitors of their country can be "Teachers of Good through Evil, by brief wrong / Making

<sup>1</sup> The *Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge (Oxford, 1931), p. 110, ll. 34-40. The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 153-58.

Truth lovely." And at the end of the poem Coleridge pays tribute to Hartley:

. . . he of mortal kind  
Wisent, he first who marked the ideal tribes  
Up the fine fibres through the sentient brain<sup>1</sup>

Hartley was still a major influence in 1796 when Coleridge contributed to Southey's *Joan of Arc* the part which was later to be published separately as "Destiny of Nations." Hartleianism is to be found in the emphasis on unity, and in the insistence that there is one God and all things lead to Him. Hartley teaches that the individual minds eventually lead to God, omnipotence:

Others bolder think  
That as one body seems the aggregate  
Of atoms numberless, each organized;  
So by a strange and dim similitude  
Infinite myriads of self-conscious minds  
Are one all-conscious Spirit

All things necessarily lead to God; even evil eventually becomes right:

And what if some rebellious, o'er dark realms  
Arrogate power? yet these train up to God . . .

In accounting for the spirits which appear to the Maid of Orleans, Coleridge illustrates the principle that pain eventually leads to good, and it is by this that he gives logical motivation to the incident.

If there be Beings of higher class than Man,  
I deem no nobler province they possess,  
Than by disposal of apt circumstance  
[To rear some realm with patient discipline,  
Aye bidding PAIN, dark ERROR'S uncouth child,  
Blameless Parenticide! his snakey scourge  
Lift fierce against his Mother! Thus they make  
Of transient Evil ever-during Good . . . ]<sup>2</sup>

These Beings are tangible forms, used for poetic purposes, to illustrate the idea that evil becomes good or leads to good.

Hartleian philosophy can also be observed in "This Lime Tree Bower My Prison," 1797, "Ode on the Departing Year," 1796; "Wanderings of Cain," "Frost at Midnight," "France," and "Fears of Solitude"—all of 1798. In none of the minor poems, however, has the

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 368-70.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 39-44

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 60-61

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 127 ff. The lines in brackets appeared in 1796; in 1817 the passage was altered to leave out the Hartleian implications.

philosophy appeared in a purely integrated form, nor has it ever been completely pointed out.<sup>11</sup>

Coleridge probably completed "The Ancient Mariner" in 1798 and immediately began *Christabel*.<sup>12</sup> At this time, however, he wrote only the first part. Part II and the conclusions to both parts were written in 1800 or 1801. Coleridge had made use of Hartley's philosophy in most of his poetry since 1794 and was definitely a believer in Hartley while he was writing "The Ancient Mariner." We may, therefore, feel justified in assuming that he was also under the influence of Hartley at the time he began *Christabel*. It is not until 1802, well over a year after the completion of the poem as we now have it, that there is poetic indication that his belief in Hartley is finally over. In "Dejection: an Ode" of that year, he speaks sadly of his mistaken belief in mechanistic philosophy. He is no longer aroused by the beauties of nature:

I see them all so excellently fair,  
I see, not feel, how beautiful they are!<sup>13</sup>

Now, instead of being quickened by outward forms, aroused by sensations, as he formerly believed he was, he realizes that the essence of life is within:

I may not hope from outward forms to win  
The passion and the life, whose fountains are within."<sup>14</sup>

It would seem, then, that *Christabel* was written in Coleridge's Hartleian period. Indeed, it is possible to find several definite aspects of the philosophy in the poem, especially in Part I. The first salient feature is that *Christabel* as a whole is optimistic. We are made to feel that good will triumph. The evil over which it triumphs is not, in this

<sup>11</sup>S. F. Gingerich ("From Necessity to Transcendentalism in Coleridge," *PMLA*, XXXV [1920], 1-59), and N. P. Stallknecht ("The Moral of the *Ancient Mariner*," *PMLA*, XLVII [1932], 559-69), in particular, have pointed out the implications of a necessitarian philosophy in Coleridge, but without emphasizing to a very great extent that Hartley was the source of the philosophy. Gingerich ignores the Christian or moral element, saying only that "Hartley is a 'naturalist and associational philosopher,' who emphasized the theory that thought is corporeal and is motion, and who treated mind as an automaton." Stallknecht, in his discussion, points out that Coleridge's ethics were those of Hartley, but he ignores the step-by-step process by which we are led to love of God. Shawcross, in the introduction to his edition of the *Biographia Literaria* (Oxford, 1907, I, xvi, ff.), discusses with considerable insight the appeal of Hartley for Coleridge, but he does not indicate the direct connection with the poems. Instead, he is of the opinion that even poems as early as "Religious Musings" indicate a drawing away from necessitarian philosophy.

<sup>12</sup>*Christabel*, ed. E. H. Coleridge (London, 1907), pp. 34-38.

<sup>13</sup>I, 37-38.

<sup>14</sup>I, 45-46.

case, in the soul of Christabel as it was in the soul of the Mariner, but is found in connection with two characters who were closely related to Christabel—Geraldine and Christabel's lover. We are aware from the start that the lover is involved in some kind of evil or danger, for the first episode tells of a dream which caused Christabel to go to the forest to pray for him. Evil also enters with Geraldine, and this too the reader perceives from the beginning. As soon as Christabel hears a moaning on the other side of the oak, we get an ominous hint:

Hush, beating heart of Christabel!  
Jesu, Maria, shield her well!<sup>16</sup>

This feeling is augmented when Christabel conducts the lady to the castle. Geraldine is unable to walk across the threshold, and her passage through the courtyard arouses the old mastiff from a sound sleep. In the hall the dying embers flash up in a tongue of light and a fit of flame. Finally in Christabel's chamber Geraldine for a moment loses her self-control and in an altered tone speaks:

'Off, wandering mother! Peak and pine!  
I have power to bid thee flee!"

Each of these events, most of them stock devices for showing an evil presence,<sup>17</sup> are indications that all is not well. Nevertheless, it is clearly suggested that the outcome will be for good. The first hint comes from Geraldine herself when she says:

'All they who live in the upper sky,  
Do love you, holy Christabel!  
And you love them, and for their sake  
And for the good which me befel,  
Even I in my degree will try,  
Fair maiden, to requite you well!"

And in the conclusion to Part I is another hint, concerning Christabel asleep:

Who, praying always, prays in sleep.  
And, if she move unquietly,  
Perchance, 'tis but the blood so free

<sup>16</sup> Ll. 53-54

<sup>17</sup> Ll. 205-06.

<sup>18</sup> We know that Coleridge would not have used these devices as ends in themselves nor as atmosphere to add horror, for we find in letters he wrote concerning the so-called Gothic romances that he objected strenuously to the use of anything which gave the appearance of being unnatural, illogical, or inconsistent with human passion. See Garland Grever, *A Wiltshire Parson and His Friends* (Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 29-31, and 196-97.

<sup>19</sup> Ll. 227-32.



Comes back and tangles in her feet.  
No doubt, she hath a vision sweet.  
What if her guardian spirit 'twere,  
What if she knew her mother near?  
But this she knows, in joys and woes,  
That saints will aid if men will call.  
For the blue sky bends over all!"

The recurring mention of the nearness of her mother is additional indication that there is good in store for Christabel.

All of these hints are to be found in the part of the poem which was completed—specifically in the first part. The second part does not reveal further proof. This optimistic tendency, however, gives us additional reason for accepting the Gillman plan of conclusion, for in that plan good triumphs. According to the plan,<sup>20</sup> Geraldine, after she has failed in her attempt to prove she is the daughter of Sir Roland de Vaux of Tryermaine, impersonates Christabel's absent lover. As she is about to marry Christabel, the real lover returns. At his appearance, Geraldine the impersonator is forced to vanish. This connection with the opening episode—Christabel had prayed for her lover in the beginning—and the triumph of good over evil which was hinted at the beginning of the poem offers strong evidence that Coleridge did have the plan in mind from the start, for it gives purpose to the initial event. According to Professor McElderry, "the initial episode, Christabel stealing from the castle to pray for her absent lover, seems almost incidental and purposeless. That it is not is emphatically indicated by the provision in the plan for the safe return of the lover *as a climax to the narrative*."<sup>21</sup> Thus Coleridge's use of the Hartleian triumphs of good over evil may not only explain the events of the poem as it stands, but also provide support for the belief that Coleridge intended to complete the poem as Gillman has related.

Hartleian determinism may also be found in *Christabel*, and this too establishes support for the Gillman plan, for the details of action in the poem as it stands and in the plan have Hartleian relationship. Christabel's going to the forest to pray for the good of her lover is the incident which served as the first event in a chain. Everything that happens in the poem is directly or indirectly related to that first event and the thing that instigated it—Christabel's lover. Geraldine's appearance

<sup>20</sup> Ll. 322-31.

<sup>21</sup> Gillman, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-03.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 452.

in the poem is connected with the weal of this man, for she disappears when he has safely returned. Previous, however, to that final defeat, Geraldine makes several attempts to bring about false relationships, but good triumphs with an inevitability that seems more than accidental. It may very well be that Coleridge is illustrating in poetical form this principle of Hartleian philosophy. For instance, in Geraldine's first attempt at evil—pretending to be the daughter of Sir Roland de Vaux of Tryermaine—it may have been inevitable that she should fail, because according to Hartleian philosophy good inevitably triumphs, and Coleridge does not leave to the reader's imagination how Geraldine failed and good triumphed. He gives a logical explanation for her failure in terms of plot; he does not simply assume the principle, but illustrates it. The proof that Geraldine was not Sir Roland's daughter is that—in the Gillman plan—the castle of Sir Roland has been washed away by a flood, sometime previous to the action of the poem. Hence she can not have come from there the day before. Her second attempt to introduce evil is to impersonate Christabel's lover, at which time all complications are resolved by the return of the real lover.

The characters themselves are Hartleian in that they are essentially passive. They are necessitarians. Neither Christabel nor Geraldine seems able to exercise free-will; each is compelled by external forces. Even in Christabel's first act—going to the woods to pray—she is motivated by dreams she has had. After this initial incident everything happens inevitably, and in everything she is influenced by outside factors. From the beginning, Christabel responds like a true necessitarian to the influence of Geraldine. Geraldine tells her to offer assistance; she does so. In the castle Geraldine tells her to undress, and she passively obeys. She is unable to think for herself. The warning she receives only serves to emphasize the fact that, in spite of everything, she remains a passive instrument, a necessitarian. Part II shows the same tendency in Christabel. She finds that, as Geraldine has declared, she had no power to tell of what she has seen the night before. When she remembers, she can only draw in her breath "with a hissing sound":

I ween, she had no power to tell  
Aught else: so mighty was the spell<sup>22</sup>

And under Geraldine's serpent glance she falls to the ground:

The maid, alas! her thoughts are gone,  
She nothing sees—no sight but one!

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<sup>22</sup> *Ll.* 473-74.

all her features were resigned  
To this sole image in her mind  
And *passively* did imitate  
That look of dull and treacherous hate."<sup>1</sup>

Geraldine, however, offers a more perplexing problem in tracing Hartleian influence, and in her character we find great inconsistency in the two parts. In Part I she appears to be acting reluctantly under compulsion:

Yet Geraldine nor speaks nor stirs;  
Ah! what a stricken look was hers!  
Deep from within she seems half-way  
To life some weight with sick assay,  
And eyes the maid and seeks delay;  
Then suddenly, as one defied,  
Collects herself in scorn and pride,  
And lay down by the Maiden's side!—<sup>2</sup>

She seems also to be suffering for some sin, for she speaks of "This mark of my shame, this seal of my sorrow." This idea of suffering for one's sins is one made use of by Hartley. In the first part, too, there is strong indication that Geraldine, although she may be an evil figure in herself, is working for good:

'All they who live in the upper sky,  
Do love you, holy Christabel!  
Even I in my degree will try,  
Fair maiden, to requite you well"<sup>3</sup>

In the second part, it is true, Geraldine exhibits qualities which she does not show in the first. The snake-like appearance of her glance and the malice with which she looks at Christabel do not appear in Part I. Nor, in the second part, is there any specific suggestion that Geraldine is operating for good. This may lead one to believe that Geraldine is no longer a factor for good, that she has changed. It is possible, of course, to counter this argument with the idea that in Part I Geraldine is seen under conditions which lend themselves to illusion, and therefore her evil nature does not reveal itself, whereas in Part II she is seen in the broad light of day. There is no definite indication in the poem, however, that Coleridge intended the reader to look at her from two angles or that the Geraldine of Part I should suddenly exercise

<sup>1</sup> L.J. 597-98, 603-06. The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> L.J. 255-62.

<sup>3</sup> L.J. 227-28, 231-32.

powers of a snake. The only hint why she should change is in the lines:

A star hath set, a star hath risen,  
O Geraldine! since arms of thine  
Have been the lovely lady's prison.  
O Geraldine! one hour was thine—  
Thou'st had thy will!<sup>16</sup>

These lines, found in the conclusion to Part I, which it must be remembered was written two years after the first part, seem to indicate that Geraldine no longer has the same power over Christabel that she had in the beginning of the poem. This may be the reason why in Part II she resorted to mesmeric means to control Christabel. Certainly it would have been to her advantage to have maintained the relationship of the previous part. There are only two hints in the second part that she may still be acting under compulsion; as she talks to Sir Leoline,

. . . with somewhat of malice, and more of dread,  
At Christabel she look'd askance!

Then

. . . Geraldine again turned round.  
And like a thing, that sought relief,  
Full of wonder and full of grief,  
She rolled her large bright eyes divine  
Wildly on Sir Leoline<sup>17</sup>

One may draw only tentative conclusions as to whether or not the character of Geraldine actually changes between the two parts, and as to what Coleridge intended. Certainly the fact that her character is not clear and that such a question can arise offers some ground for assuming that Coleridge himself either was not sure or was not able to express clearly what he intended. His powers of expounding clear-cut, consistent ideas in poetry seem to have declined, for in the main development of *Christabel* there is no complete step-by-step exposition of the philosophy to be found in "The Ancient Mariner." In *Christabel*, only a few aspects are included, particularly the necessitarian nature of the characters and the triumph of good over evil. The latter, which is clearly present in Part I as if it were definitely a part of Coleridge's thinking at that time, is scarcely perceptible in Part II. The fact that one can question the consistency of Part I and Part II, and especially of the character of Geraldine, indicates that something had happened to Coleridge in the two years<sup>18</sup> since he created "The Ancient Mariner"

<sup>16</sup> Ll. 302-06.

<sup>17</sup> Ll. 586-87, 592-96.

<sup>18</sup> He had spent part of these two years in Germany and had begun to read the German metaphysicians

—a consistently true representation of Hartley—and began *Christabel*.

The possible difference in the two parts and the sketchy nature of the Hartleian philosophy that is apparent give rise to two questions: what caused the change, and why was not *Christabel* as true an illustration of Hartleian philosophy as "The Ancient Mariner"? In answering these questions it is also possible to suggest why *Christabel* was never completed. This poem is an excellent illustration of the fact that Coleridge was growing away from the influence of David Hartley, away from a philosophy that gave hard, logical outlines to all experiences because it was based on external sensation. He was groping after something else, looking away from the tangible, from the realities of personal experience, into the entanglements of metaphysics. He wrote his best poetry during the Hartleian period. When he left Hartley for a more profound philosophy, he left contact with the tangible and the stable, which was the thing that enabled him to write poetry during the years in which he was a follower of Hartley. It was the only time in his life that he was able to express a direct contact between his inner concepts and his outer experience. It was the only time in which his philosophy was based on external concepts. Thereafter he labored with ideas which were profound and abstract; but never could he express these abstractions clearly enough to write vivid poetry.

*Christabel* marks the transition to this way of thinking. The first part of the poem—written in 1798, when he was still a strong Hartleian—shows, more clearly than the last, three Hartleian elements: necessitarian characters, optimism, and logical and deterministic development. The plan outlined by Gillman also shows these elements, and it must be remembered that Coleridge maintained he had the plan in mind from the beginning.<sup>29</sup> Two years afterwards, however, when he returned to the poem, the optimism is less clear. Something remains of the necessitarian nature of the characters, but in Geraldine there is some question as to whether she is still acting as a force for good. The two parts do not, for these reasons, show the clearness of intention found in all parts of "The Ancient Mariner." Coleridge's new philosophy, involved and abstract, could not give him the simple explanation of life that he had found in the years 1794-98. When he lost contact with a philosophy which made him think in terms of the tangible, he lost his power to give concrete expression to his ideas—to write poetry which would live. This change from the tangible to the abstract may be the basic reason why *Christabel* was never completed.

<sup>29</sup> Gillman, *loc. cit.*

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*The three articles comprising this Supplement were the second, third, and fourth of a series of papers or talks presented before the Research Council of the State College of Washington during 1939-40. The first of the series, a talk which is not available for publication (inasmuch as it had not been written out and the speaker has left the institution), defended research in the pure sciences. The third (the first printed here) was a defense of research in the social sciences, and the second a defense of research in the humanities. The fourth and last discussed the relationship of research to philosophy.*

*The three papers below are being published at the special request of the Research Council of the State College of Washington, an organization composed of persons interested in research in the pure sciences and arts. They will be distributed to all members of the teaching staff of this institution, and it is hoped that they will also be useful elsewhere.*

THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOCIAL SCIENCE

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The two preceding papers presented to the Research Council have identified the characteristics of physical science and discussed the value of research in the humanities. As the title indicates, this paper is concerned with the possibility of a social science. Few persons doubt the value of research in the field of social problems, and few question the desirability of a "science of society." But the possibility of such a science is an issue raised repeatedly. The query might be put in this way: "A social science would be valuable indeed, but can we have one?"

Some observers of the social sciences are not kind enough to put the question this way. They speak positively and tell the aspiring social scientist in certain terms that his activity is not scientific and that his discipline is not a science. We can perhaps let Professor E. A. Hooton clarify this position for us with his classical statement ". . . I think that social science is like a Welsh rabbit—not really a rabbit at all!"<sup>1</sup>

When one speaks of the possibility of a social science, he is concerned with the general problem of including social data and methods

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<sup>1</sup>E. A. Hooton, *Aper, Men and Morons* (New York, 1937), p. 62.

of manipulating them within the category science. The issue of a *single* science of society *versus* many sciences need not be raised, nor need there be concern here for the jurisdictional disputes between the various social science disciplines. Instead, some of the important questions which must be answered if a social science is to be admitted may be posed. Such questions can be used, likewise, to indicate significant recent developments in sociology.

I refer intentionally to sociology because that is the field with which I am familiar. Sociology may be considered representative of the social sciences, although no more is claimed for it than might be claimed for economics, political science, cultural anthropology, or any other field of study which has taken upon itself the dubious title "social science." I take it that the possibility of a social science will have been established if the possibility of a science of sociology can be demonstrated.

One question which frequently enters into such a discussion as this seems to be entirely irrelevant to the main issues, and that is the question of reforms or solutions to social problems which may trouble a society. Though admitting the potential value and the certain legitimacy of applying the findings of any science to the solution of practical problems, one must make a rigid distinction between a social problem and a sociological problem. A social problem is a situation demanding action; a sociological problem is a question requiring an answer. The possibility of a social science is unaffected by the success or failure of so-called applied social science. Sociology is not social work any more than physics is mechanical engineering; economics is not business administration any more than geology is prospecting for gold.

It is necessary to indicate in general the subject matter which social scientists study. An observation upon which all might agree is that human behavior may be observed not only on its organic level but also as extra-organic activities. Men speak English, worship God, eat with forks, smoke pipes, marry one woman or several, accept some things as good and others as bad, plow fields and plant grain, make machines, have prejudices against some things and for others, lynch their fellow men, and fight wars. These particular things which men can be seen to do are learned from their parents and their parents' parents. Our observations of the behavior of men readily indicates that there is some order in the lives of men which we can abstract from their individual behaviors and observe in itself. This order of reality which is

non-organic, traditional and learned, social scientists have called culture. And culture is the subject matter of sociology.<sup>8</sup>

The traditional relationships between human beings constitute what we are accustomed to think of as society. Families are formed and dissolved, churches are organized, labor unions are established, factories are built and worked in by men doing different tasks, attitudes of respect and contempt are exhibited, and many other inter-human relations are visible and subject to investigation. Sociology may be defined as the study of this observable mass of traditional behavior—culture. The sociologist, therefore, concerns himself with such questions as the ways in which these cultural relationships come about, the manner in which they change, the factors affecting their persistence, and the conditions under which they are maintained.

The reality of the subject matter of sociology ought to be stressed. The things mentioned above are visible; in fact, they are obvious to any observer. They are so commonplace that we scarcely think of them, although we rely on them in our day-to-day lives. That you will meet your classes tomorrow is so thorough-going an expectation on your part that you seldom consider such behavior as itself observable and indeed predictable. Behavior of this very sort, however, is the subject matter of sociology.

When the question of the possibility of a science of sociology is raised, one refers to the possibility of bringing these observable facts together under a consistent body of generalizations which allow verifiable predictions to be made. The aim of science is to establish just such generalizations. If sociology is to be regarded as a science, at least three questions must be considered.

1. Is the subject matter of sociology scientific?
2. Are the methods of reaching generalizations about the subject matter of sociology scientific?
3. What sort of generalizations, or "laws", can there be in sociology?

These questions do not set up straw men. Upon each of these counts there is a large literature of controversy. Champions have arisen within sociology to do battle on these issues, and those outside the ranks

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<sup>8</sup> Not all sociologists would agree with this statement, although they might well agree if it were stated conversely. Sociology concerns itself primarily with the non-inorganic and the non-organic aspects of human behavior. Culture is used as synonymous here with superorganic, which is distinguishable from organic and inorganic. Each of these is a level of observable reality. For a lucid exposition of this point of view, see Leslie A. White, "Science is Sciencing", *Philosophy of Science*, V (1938), 381-84.



of sociologists have not hesitated to add their voices to the furor.

The first question—Is the subject matter of sociology scientific?—has its counterpart in the statement that there is a qualitative difference between social facts and physical facts and that the former are not amenable to scientific treatment. It is contended that whereas a star, a stone, a gas, and a bird are scientific objects, a family, a folkway, race prejudice, and a marriage system are not scientific objects.

Such a contention as this contains the fatal error of identifying science with a subject matter rather than with an activity. It loses sight of the fact that the characteristics which we ascribe to the natural world as "scientific" are concepts and not irreducible parts of some natural reality. That a Negro doffs his cap and says, "Yassuh," when speaking to a white man in the South, is as real and observable as the change which occurs in a steel bar in a fire. And the concept "caste," which we may choose to describe the relationship between the Negro and the white man, is no more and no less a part of the "reality of the situation" than the concept "heat," which we may use to describe the relationship between the bar and the fire. In both cases the facts can be seen, and in both cases concepts are created to make the facts intelligible.

Concepts, as Einstein and Infeld point out in *The Evolution of Physics*, do not arise from facts but are "free creations of the human mind" and "they are not, however it may seem, uniquely determined by the external world."<sup>3</sup> What characterizes science is not a subject matter but a particular way of dealing with the reality we assume to exist. As Leslie A. White has aptly put it, science is *sciencing*.<sup>4</sup> *Sciencing* is the invention of concepts of reality from which the observed facts logically can follow.

Sociology already has an imposing list of concepts: competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation; primary group, secondary group, institution; class, caste, status, position; social distance, stereotype; and many others. In fact, there are more concepts in sociology than it has been able to use. Each concept actually does make the observable reality more intelligible, and in a limited way the events which we observe do logically follow from the concept. It is observed, for example, that, when two different racial or ethnic groups come together,

<sup>3</sup> Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld, *The Evolution of Physics* (New York, 1938), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

the results follow logically from the concepts competition, conflict, and accommodation. It is a safe bet that a large influx of some racial group into Spokane would result in behavior which might be conceptualized in these three processes. This has been seen to occur in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities, whether the incoming group is Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, or some other racial or nationality group.

This illustration shows not only the use of concepts in sociology but the very evident shortcoming of such concepts. The indefinite and qualitative character of such a generalization as these concepts embody raises the issue posed in the second question above: Are the methods for reaching generalizations in sociology scientific?

Asking about scientific method in sociology is a shorthand way of asking whether there is agreement between qualified observers as to the facts included under a given concept. If science, as Einstein and Infeld say, is a creation of the human mind freely inventing pictures of reality and trying to establish the connection of these pictures with the world of sense impressions, then scientific method can be defined as the device for establishing this connection so that different persons can agree upon the adequacy or inadequacy of the picture. This is the problem of scientific method in sociology and in any other field.

So far as meeting the tests of objectivity and, therefore, of verifiable description is concerned, sociologists have in general been dismal failures. In fact, they have described what they have observed in terms which hardly serve to communicate clearly—much less to be checked and verified. Some sociologists have even glorified this inadequacy of method with elaborate rationalizations and justifications.

This methodological failure is easily illustrated. Sociologists have observed that all over the world human beings participate in small, intimate, face-to-face groups which are called primary groups. Families, playgroups, neighborhood groups, and friendships are examples. These primary groups are always described in terms of "intimacy," participation of the whole personality," "interaction," and the like, and they are said to give rise to "human nature traits," such as "respect," "loyalty," "a conception of self," and other characteristics of "personality." By dint of hard talking it is possible to convince a person that such groups exist and that this description covers them, but it is almost impossible to take any given group and designate it as a primary group or a secondary group. Penetrating insight is undoubtedly afforded by the use of such terms as "intimacy," but they are so completely subjective

in this use that there is no way of communicating specifically what is meant by them. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that almost all the early sociologists made their own unique observations and tested only their own imperfectly communicated generalizations. This situation has given rise to "sociological schools" based on differences in vocabulary, but not schools, as in other sciences, based on different interpretations of accepted facts.

The trouble with observations and generalizations of the sort here described, insofar as they may propose to be scientific, is quite evident in the form that they take. They may be true or they may not, and there is no way of finding out so long as they are put in qualitative and non-measurable terms. Today sociologists are coming very definitely to realize this.

The history of research in sociology has shown two significant developments that have bearing on scientific method in this field. There has been a gradual shift away from the question of the "nature" of society or of the concepts used—for example, the *nature* of the family, the *meaning* of institution, the *essence* of prejudice or public opinion. More frequently today the sociologist is asking what is the relationship between two or more observed phenomena. Rather than inquire into the nature of race prejudice, for example, sociologists now tend to ask what is the relationship of race prejudice to the size of the community, of race conflict to the competitive positions of two races, of segregation of races to mobility of the population. This is a significant development because questions of nature, essence, character, and quality yield only metaphysical answers, whereas questions of relationship permit agreement upon observations and their measurements.

But even posing questions of relationship is not alone sufficient for agreement of observations. The illustrations used above ought to show this well enough. Are we any closer to verifiable observations when we relate an undefined "race prejudice" to an undefined "competitive position"? Is the statement by MacIver<sup>5</sup> that "the differentiation of community is relative to the growth of personality in social individuals" any closer to a verifiable observation than Cooley's statement<sup>6</sup> that "An institution is simply a definite and established phase of the public mind"? Perhaps it is somewhat closer, because MacIver's statement at least *potentially* admits the possibility of agreement upon behavior which

<sup>5</sup> R. M. MacIver, *Community* (New York, 1931), p. 231

<sup>6</sup> C. H. Cooley, *Social Organisation* (New York, 1931), p. 313.

can be called "differentiation" and "growth of personality" and allows us *potentially* to establish some measuring rod for this behavior.

Agreement of observation, in the last analysis, depends entirely upon the instrument and the sense used in observing. Without a balance no two persons would agree upon the weight of an object. "By the use of the clock the time concept becomes objective." Once accept a scale and two observers cut down their differences in observation almost to zero. This same possibility exists for the social scientist. In fact, he is already following just this procedure in his researches, using standards accepted by his colleagues and carefully defining them. There is a great deal of disagreement about the amount of social distance between a white child and a Chinese child, but there will be little disagreement about the degree of social distance if two observers use the same rating scale. This procedure, of course, cancels all possibility of learning the "true character" of race prejudice or other measured relationships, just as the use of the thermometer cancels all chance of learning the "true nature" of cold.

A reaction against the uncontrolled observations of the older generation of sociologists produced a second significant trend in sociological research: a growing insistence upon the use of quantitative data. This development was an effort to lend precision to observations of social life. Statistics are widely used for description: how many families are there in a given community? what is the age distribution? what is the occupational distribution? what is the amount of education? Statistical surveys allow the sociologist to describe a community not as "wholesome" or "healthy," but as so large, having a certain average-size family, having such and such a percentage of foreign-born, having a given income level. Two communities so described can be compared with each other and with all communities to determine how typical they are. Two observers can easily agree upon terms used in this sort of description, and two observations can be checked against each other.

Descriptive research remains today one of the main activities of sociologists. During the twenty-five years in which this kind of work has been energetically pursued, an enormous number of statistical compilations have been made, and there are volumes of tables which characterize families, classes, institutions, recreational activities, criminals, racial groups, and the like.

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<sup>1</sup> Einstein and Infeld, *op. cit.*, p 189.

Descriptive research has proved useful and valuable in sociology, but it has the obvious shortcoming of leading to no generalizations at all. The conclusion to be drawn from the fact that Negroes make up 10 per cent of a community is that Negroes make up 10 per cent of a community. Gradually, however, the use of statistical techniques to establish relationships between different factors has increased. This development, in my opinion, is one which will lead to scientific generalizations from which verifiable and measurable events can be predicted. In other words, since sociology has begun to put its generalizations in statistical terms, there is a good chance that its generalizations can be tested. At the present time the statistical method is perhaps the most ingenious tool used by sociologists.

Illustrations of the form which sociological research is tending to take today may serve as an answer to the third question posed above: "What kind of generalizations or "laws" are possible in sociology?"

Only two examples of statistical researches which lead, it seems to me, to scientific laws need be mentioned. In Chicago, Clifford Shaw has established a correlation between the rate of delinquency and the rate of recidivism in various areas of the city.<sup>8</sup> This relationship has been expressed in terms of an equation which allows the determination of the rate of recidivism if the delinquency rate of the area is known. Under designated conditions a predictable relationship between the delinquency rate and the rate of recidivism is therefore established.

Recently Professors Burgess and Cotrell, on the basis of an extensive questionnaire distributed in Chicago, have developed a table for predicting happiness and unhappiness in marriage.<sup>9</sup> They did this by correlating numerous factors for each couple in their sample with judgments of their happiness or unhappiness. These couples, and other persons knowing them, were asked to rate the degree of their happiness in marriage. On the basis of the scale constructed from these ratings, the probability of happiness or unhappiness in marriage was predicted for given sets of background factors associated with prospective marriage partners. This same sort of actuarial prediction has already been successfully tried out in several penitentiaries for predicting success and failure of prisoners placed on parole.

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<sup>8</sup> Cited in Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York, 1939), p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cotrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York, 1939).

The general application of the results of these particular studies is not in the least the concern of this paper. These studies are obviously limited by the size of the samples used and by the local source of observation. Nevertheless, these studies do indicate a significant direction of development in sociology and show the sort of sociological "laws" which at this time seem possible.

A scientific law may be defined as a generalization which holds under stated and measurable conditions. As I see it, scientific laws are laws of probability indicating just what chance there is of a given relationship occurring under defined conditions.

Such a definition actually is met by the informal sociological prediction made earlier in this paper: it is a good bet that you will meet your classes tomorrow morning. One might elevate this observation to the status of a sociological law if he could state the exact odds of the bet. Let someone repeat his observations frequently enough and he can state the probability that you will attend your classes. Such a generalization, were it made, would allow your behavior to be predicted and the chances of error in the prediction to be stated. I take it that this is the character of all scientific laws. At any rate, it seems to me to be a fruitful aim for social science.<sup>10</sup>

I believe that, in answering the three questions concerning data, method, and generalization, I have indicated the possibility of a social science. That social scientists have produced more talk about this possibility than laws of social science is, unfortunately, true. This fact is, however, not a discouragement but a challenge to social science.

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<sup>10</sup> The distinction between mechanical laws and statistical laws in science is a philosophical problem still unsettled. In this paper, I do not consider this issue but stress the laws of probability resulting from statistical methods because they seem to me to promise at the present time the best chances for measurement and prediction in sociology. For a discussion of philosophical positions on mechanical and statistical laws, see Morris R. Cohen, "The Statistical View of Nature", *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXI, (June, 1936) 327-47, for a discussion of this issue with reference to sociology, see G. A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York, 1939), pp. 133-52. Both of these discussions contain supplementary bibliography.

## THE VALUE OF RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES

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This paper was begun as an attempt to set forth certain facts about Landor. Landor is a man of whom I am supposed to know something; the Research Council is a place where I am given the opportunity of telling something of what I am supposed to know; and this seemed sufficient justification for the production of another paper on a subject in which no one but me is particularly interested. But as I continued to work, I continued to be aware of a perfectly legitimate lack of interest on the part of my future audience, and it occurred to me it would be far better to establish the right to do what I am given the opportunity of doing than to produce another example of the sort of work of which we have perhaps had too much already. I do not speak personally, I am defending, not my right to produce a type of research, but anybody's right.

There is another reason for presenting this *apologia*. Our colleagues the natural scientists have for long politely and insistently questioned the value of the type of research we in the humanities do. Before their questions become less polite and more insistent, it is well to examine the ground we flounder on. For, although there are within the family of the sciences occasional dissensions as to the relative value and proper sphere of each member of the family, these are but the bickerings of loving brothers and sisters, and against us outsiders all members present a common front. Although they cannot always agree as to their own relative merits, they can usually agree as to our lack of merit.

First let me make clear for whom I speak. The point of view I shall try to set forth is that of the group loosely known as the humanities—specifically, the fields of language and literature, history, and philosophy. I do not presume to speak for the field of education, for I do not know whether the educators share these views or not. They should therefore be exonerated of the suspicion of complicity. I should like the active support of the social sciences—that step-child in the family of science whom some call a bastard—but I shall have to be content with moral support; for, although the social sciences are as thoroughly damned by the natural scientists as we, the damnation is of a different sort. The value of what the social scientist is trying to do

is generally conceded; it is against his method that most criticism is leveled. In our case criticism has not bothered with methodology, there being, presumably, no bad way of doing what isn't worth doing at all. In this paper I aim to show that the type of research done in the humanities is eminently worth doing.

One aspect of this subject I shall, in the interests of unity and discretion, avoid almost entirely. It is an examination of the motives for which men do research. There is a strong though generally unacknowledged tendency for an individual to value research because it furthers his own ends in securing a raise or another position; for an administration to value research because it furthers the reputation of the school; and for the rest of the world to ignore it because it seems to them to further nothing at all. Such a tendency is the stronger because, inasmuch as doing research requires sacrificing present leisure in the often-unrealized hope of future gain, it is easy to ignore some of one's real motives and to imagine oneself austerely and whole-heartedly dedicated to the propagation of truth. This, I think, is a fault of which researchers in the sciences are as guilty as we. It is due to the weakness of men.

Nevertheless, good research has a value whatever motive it was done for, and good research has been done by men who hoped to profit by it just as good poetry has been written by men who were forced to make their livings thereby. Truth is not the less true because men do not love her entirely for her own sake. I am hypothesizing, then, that research in any field may be good (that is, done in accordance with the best methodology of the field) although there may be more than one motive for doing it.

As our critics base many of their criticisms on the titles of our research, I shall list several presumably typical ones; and, that I may not be open to the charge of simplifying my problem, I have diligently searched for those which seem most absurd. The first is one which to many unsympathetic persons has come to symbolize the uselessness of one kind of research: namely, "The Date of Love's Labour's Lost." This, I will add, is no meagre article; it is a book of 134 pages. The second is another example of what some think should not be done in research: "The Final *e* in Chaucer." The third is apocryphal; it was invented by a physical scientist as an illustration of the absurdity of research in the humanities, and I cheerfully accept it as a not unlikely subject. It is "*Cum*-Clauses in Caesar."



Now I might here point out something which the natural scientist sometimes overlooks. It is that the value of his research, which is naturally obvious to him, is not always much clearer to us than ours is to him. I do not doubt that "The Water Beetles of the Outer Hebrides," by a fellow of Cambridge, may be extremely valuable; but I am to some extent taking that on faith. To me the value of knowing the date of *Love's Labour's Lost* is much more obvious. The value of some pieces of research in the sciences, however, is quite clear to us. For example, the following, in the field of geology, appears quite valuable, perhaps because it seems closer to our own field: "The Jades of Central America."

The first point I wish to make is that these examples of research in the humanities are not properly or fairly judged, as they so often are judged, as ends in themselves. Considered as such, they are patently absurd. But they are no more ends in themselves than the classification of insects or the naming of rocks is an end in itself. They may be likened to the bricks of which a house is built, and, like bricks, they have slight value unless they are put to further use. Their value will be proved, I believe, if it can be shown that something of value can be made of some of them.

However, in order to prove the value of producing such pieces of research as the sources of *Samson Agonistes* or the date of *Love's Labour's Lost*, it is not necessary to prove that every piece of research has a further use. It is in the nature of disinterested research that the researcher must aim to discover and set forth what he can discover and set forth, regardless of its further use. We do not consider the present-day study of the atom the less valuable because we do not now clearly see any practical application to be made of the results of it, nor do many suggest doing away with astronomy because it is not "practical." Those scientists who have felt pressure to produce research which has a further use know that such pressure is contrary to the spirit of true research. Clearly, a type of research has very limited value if no further use can be made of any of its small conclusions, but that there must be some waste, that the value of some pieces of research will end with the persons who produce them, is not only legitimate but is inherent in the nature of a pursuit which aims first of all to set forth the truth, applicable or inapplicable.

Now I shall try to define the term *value* as I am using it. Having

done that, I shall take up my typical pieces of research and try to show their value.

In philosophical terms value means utility, that is, a thing which has value serves an end beyond itself. This value may be confined to the creator of the thing of value, or it may extend to others. Thus, to prove that a piece of research has value, one need show only that it was of use to the person who created it. Although we are perhaps right in ascribing only a limited value to a piece of work which benefits no one but its creator, there is nevertheless a value there, and perhaps a greater one than is generally conceded. By producing a piece of research which is of no use to anyone but the creator (a rather unlikely proceeding, as a matter of fact), one may learn to interpret data, or reason logically, or even work out his own philosophy of life. It is hardly accurate to say that such work has no value. But value is more likely to be conceded if it is social—that is, if it is of use to others as well as to the creator. I shall try to show that my three pieces of research have precisely this social value.

I have suggested that the value of a piece of work may appertain to either or both of these groups: the creator and others. It is also true that this value will be of one or both of these two kinds: (1) that which has to do with increasing man's physical comforts, (2) that which has to do with contributing to man's moral, intellectual, and esthetic development. There is, of course, no clear line of demarcation between the two. Research whose value consists primarily in increasing man's physical comforts usually contributes to man's intellectual development.

Furthermore, much, perhaps most, of the research in the natural sciences partakes of this dual utility, and when the "practical" (I use the word in its restricted, conventional sense) value is least apparent there is generally a feeling that it is potential, or at least conceivable, as in the atom-smashing experiments.

But no one is so quick as the natural scientists themselves to reject the implication that their research has no aim but a "practical" one. They are jealous of its "pure" aspect and when pressed are likely to assert that its sole aim is to set forth the truth, with "practical" utility a by-product. This attitude was well expressed by the Oxford professor when he proposed this toast: "Here's to pure mathematics. May it never be worth a damn to anyone!" Here is asserted the scientist's love of truth for its own sake, his chafing under the necessity of justifying

his work by finding in it a "practical" utility, the kind of utility he criticizes ours for lacking. Thus the natural scientist can justify his research on two planes: when better guns are needed, he is there to lend "practical" aid; when Truth is being pursued for the pure love of her, he is among those who lead the pursuit.

The researcher in the humanities is in no such happy position. The chief value of his research is in its contribution to man's intellectual, moral, and esthetic development. He can rarely point to an achievement so material as assisting in bringing about a man's death. Thus his work has little "practical" value—that is, little part in increasing creature comforts.

Now it seems to me that when the natural scientist criticizes research in the humanities as having no value, he is overlooking the part in man's intellectual development which is played by setting forth truth in any field, and he is restricting himself to a view of utility which he himself often rejects. For he cannot have it both ways. If he would deny to us any part in contributing to man's intellectual development, he must also deny it to himself; for when he attempts primarily to set forth what is true, regardless of its utility, his aim is precisely ours.

Another factor contributes to our difficulty in convincing others of the value of our research. The need to develop man intellectually, morally, and esthetically has about it little of the immediacy that pertains to the need to kill him or to alleviate his sufferings. There is a widespread feeling that such development, valuable though it may be, can well wait upon a time of material plenty. Consequently, in times of national stress, research in the humanities, like "pure" research in the natural sciences, appears to many as especially useless. It seems childish and unrealistic to re-examine Plato's philosophy when there are whole races which need to be annihilated. On the other hand, those contributions of the natural science which are applicable to the business at hand are doubly valued. Thus, while the disinterested aspects of the natural sciences suffer, Science as a whole is accorded an increased respect. At the same time, the humanities sink lower in general esteem.

One criticism frequently voiced by the natural scientist remains to be considered briefly. It is that, whereas his research is "original," ours is a mere rehash of what someone else has already said or written. It was "original" for Newton to set forth the law of gravitation, because it had never been done before; but it is not "original" to set forth Shakespeare's conception of stagecraft, because it is all there in the

plays. One might as well say that there was gravitation before Newton discovered the law by which it operates. In both cases this is true from one point of view. But the principle of gravitation can be more effectively applied since the law has been formulated than before; and Shakespeare's conception of statescraft, everywhere implicit but nowhere clearly stated, will become much more significant when someone studies in detail the implications and interprets them in the light of an exact knowledge of Renaissance theories of government. In neither case does originality consist of producing something out of nothing; in both cases there is originality in finding new meaning in data.

If what has preceded has been at all convincing, it should not be difficult to show the social value in determining the exact date of *Love's Labour's Lost*, for my thesis is that truth in any field, sought for its own sake, can contribute to man's intellectual, moral, and esthetic development. True, this value remains limited so long as the truth set forth is a fact unrelated to a general truth. The author of the study I am referring to does not clearly point out any such general truth. Although he gives 18 of his 134 pages to a chapter entitled "The Significance of the Date," the significance he claims is no more likely to be accepted as valuable by the natural scientists than is his new date; for the conclusions he reaches are likewise means and not ends in themselves. It does not seem to matter much that the new date shakes the very foundations of the rime-test theory. It is not to be wondered at that researchers in another field doubt the value of research in the humanities when the ultimate value of that research is so rarely set forth. Indeed, there is reason to think it is often unrealized. The immediate ends of his research occupy and satisfy the researcher. If these are to secure a degree, they usually seem quite sufficient.

Nevertheless, a piece of truth so seemingly irrelevant as the date of *Love's Labour's Lost* has its part in a larger truth. It will, I think, be conceded that an understanding of Shakespeare or of any other man of genius can contribute to one's intellectual development. Therefore, any study which has a part in making Shakespeare more understandable has value. It is true that establishing the date of *Love's Labour's Lost* is likely to make no such immediate contribution to a man's thinking as a study of, let us say, the causes of the first World War; but it has a part in giving us a more complete understanding of Shakespeare just as the editing of historical documents has a part in setting forth the causes of the war. To show the exact connection of a detail

to the larger whole is usually the work of the specialist in the field. In the case of *Love's Labour's Lost* the new date, which is about seven years later than the traditional one, puts the play in Shakespeare's mature period. Instead of being a first, fumbling attempt, it follows such masterpieces as *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Moreover, the new date lends support to the story that the play is a satire of the visit of a Russian embassy to the court of Queen Elizabeth. The implications of these facts are clear to the Shakespearean scholar. There is no doubt that every new fact contributes to the better understanding of Shakespeare's art.

As soon as one sees pieces of research, not as ends in themselves but as means, much of their seeming absurdity vanishes. The physical scientist knows well the value of accuracy as an ideal of research. Without claiming that any soul-shaking conclusions will be reached by studying *cum*-clauses in Caesar, one can safely say that such a study contributes to a clear understanding of the structure of the Latin language; that a clear understanding of the structure of the Latin language contributes to a clearer understanding of the ideas expressed in the Latin language; and that this clear understanding of ideas can contribute to the clarification of one's own ideas—surely a worthy end.

A few words about the study of the final *e* in Chaucer. On the face of it, few subjects seem more worthless. What difference does the final *e* make? If there is anything important about Chaucer, it is his poetry, not the way he pronounced his final *e*. But properly understood and seen in its proper relation, Professor Child's famous study takes on a new significance. So far from being dry-as-dust scholarship, it was the means of revealing to us Chaucer's poetic artistry, for before Child discovered that the Middle English final *e* was sounded, Chaucer was to many people merely a poet with a robust talent for telling stories in rough, uncouth verse. Now we know that he was an artist of rare skill. For anyone who receives pleasure from the subtle and haunting melody of verse, the research in the final *e* in Chaucer was extremely valuable.

The principle here implicit may be generally applied. If history is worth studying, and there are no Fords among us to deny it, then there is a value in ascertaining the facts of history, however insignificant in themselves. Some will prove to be of no further use, but many will form new designs from which new conclusions emerge. The principle

holds true in the study of literature, for literature is but history in its most artistic form.

That we are often ignorant of what larger truth our small truth may be a part of, that we are too frequently indifferent to it, finding our reward in a more material and more immediate return, we must admit; but I believe the scientist must share our guilt. Because some conclusions are susceptible of a more practical use than others, it does not follow that the purveyors of the first sort are animated by more altruistic motives than the purveyors of the second sort, nor even that their conclusions are more valuable.

What we need is not less research or a different sort, but more men who, like John Livingston Lowes, can take our limited truths, our conclusions which have value chiefly as they relate to something else, and fit them into their larger whole. The value of research in the humanities will not be generally conceded until each man shows the precise relation of what he is doing to an end product which clearly increases man's intellectual stature or contributes to his esthetic pleasure.

## PHILOSOPHY AND RESEARCH

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The spirit of science has descended upon the modern age, an age of laboratories and experiments, investigations and reports, statistics, measurements, and questionnaires. Upon everyone, whether educated or not, the word "scientific" makes a deep impression. To be unscientific is disgraceful or even downright immoral. It is as bad as the charge of heresy in the Middle Ages. Today our markets and stores are filled with goods that have received the benediction of science. "Scientifically prepared, tested and approved" is a recommendation that carries as much prestige in American advertising as does "purveyor to the king" in British advertising. Scientific approval is necessary for all goods that can be successfully marketed. In consequence, now only pigs that are scientifically raised go to market. Cows are scientifically milked. Fruit is scientifically grown, picked, and boxed. Foods are scientifically prepared. Medicines are labeled with scientific formulas. We wash ourselves with scientific soap. We clean our teeth with scientific paste spread upon a scientific brush. We sleep on scientific mattresses. We wear scientific clothing. There are scientific nurses and scientific babies. All professions and many occupations are scientific. We have scientific farming and scientific business. Our faith in science is so strong that we have visions of a technocracy where only the experts shall reign, a scientific Utopia such as Sir Thomas More dreamed and wrote of, and such as we read about in Campanella's *City of the Sun*, in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, and in Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. One of our politicians has ventured to establish a braintrust, but as yet science and politics, pharmaceutically speaking, are incompatibles. Scientific politics is no politics at all. Like a scientific religion, there is something inherently suspect and contradictory in it.

That we moderns are so scientifically minded is the result of scientific research which, after spasmodic attempts reaching back to the scientists of the Alexandrian Age, finally got definitely under way with that inquisition of nature begun and carried out so successfully by Kepler and Galileo and since their time gradually extended from nature to man and all his works.

It is the purpose of this paper to give an evaluative account of the nature of research, its general characteristics, its purpose, its methods,

its limitations, and its metaphysical presuppositions. After this, I shall add a supplement on the relation of morals to science. I realize that this is a very large order which I have no expectation of satisfactorily filling. My general ignorance of science prevents any such hope. I approach the subject with an outward appearance of temerity but with an inward feeling of timidity.

Research, I take it, is a somewhat omnibus term whose generality there is need of "breaking down," as the statistician would say, into its more concrete and specific meanings. We should, following the advice of Stuart Chase, subject this word to semantic analysis by running it down to its various referents. The general term research means very little aside from those characteristics which are the distinguishing marks of all research. Before discussing these common features of research, let us consider briefly research in its specific manifestations

The essential differences in research are determined by the methods and particular aims growing out of the subject matter with which the project for investigation is concerned. The subject matter provides the content of the particular science, and also forms what is designated as a universe of discourse. Each science, or universe of discourse, is marked by a varying number of regulating, limiting, and functioning concepts. These concepts change as time goes on. Old ones are discarded as being inadequate or false, and new ones take their place. Thus in modern physics we meet with such concepts as mass, energy, motion, entropy, conservation, concepts which have displaced the Aristotelian concepts of substance, qualities, essences, forms, and inherent weights. Recently we have seen the Newtonian concepts of absolute space and absolute time give way to the relative and more workable notion of space-time. These concepts give changes in points of view and are often revolutionary in effect. In illustration we may cite such concepts as those of heredity, survival, and transmutation that were introduced into biology by the theory of evolution. It is clear from these examples that the leading concepts in any universe of discourse, that is, in any science, will necessarily determine the nature of the research problems carried on in that science.

Not only is every research problem restricted to a particular universe of discourse, but it is also usually confined to a specific and generally very minute area, or portion, of that universe. Each branch of knowledge sets these restrictions in recognition of the principle of "divide and conquer" as the only practical means whereby successful



advancement can be made into the region of the unknown. The scientific investigator must take things piecemeal; he can do nothing with wholes. That impossible task is left to the philosopher.

Restriction is another word for specialization. Specialization is necessitated by the infinite complexity of the world about us. The scientist, if we may reemphasize what has already been said, must abstract from that complex whole we call the universe by selecting certain phenomena, or events, grouped together on a principle of similarity in nature and function. He isolates this more or less homogeneous aspect of the world in order to create a simplicity which, though somewhat artificial and to that extent unreal, is manageable and intelligible. It is through this process of abstraction that sciences arise. Any concrete setting, or even a single object, may offer data for various sciences. For example, an adequate scientific description of a cow eating grass would require physics to deal with the atomic structure of the cow and the grass, chemistry to give an account of their composition in terms of the elements, botany to describe the grass, zoology to describe the cow, and economics to explain the relation of cow and grass to human needs. Any complete account of either cow or grass would, of course, like Tennyson's "flower in the crannied wall," involve relations to all the universe and require a knowledge of everything. No scientist attempts or even dares to hope to realize this ambition to achieve omniscience. Only philosophers are conceited and presumptuous enough to try it. The results of the efforts of these pundits are the various and conflicting versions of the universe that have appeared in the history of human thought. These versions are known as systems of philosophy. In their endeavor to see things as a whole, philosophers are forever trying to put back into its concrete setting what the scientists have abstracted. It is for this reason that it is usually said that science is abstract and philosophy is concrete. At any rate, since the universal understanding of things in all their relations is a human impossibility, we must conclude that there are philosophies but no philosophy, sciences but no science. And to get back from this slight digression to the main topic, it follows that there are researches, but no research.

Each particular field of investigation, then, as we have seen, develops its own peculiar technique, requires its own special equipment, devises its own regulating concepts. An examination of historical sources, a geological survey, an astronomical observation, and an experiment in genetics present aspects of the world so heterogeneous as

to defy comparison. All these decided differences in content and technique give rise to our departmentalized institutions of learning, where each department is in danger of becoming a compartment more or less watertight whose inmates sometimes place an exaggerated importance upon what they are doing and what they know. There is liable to be a corresponding indifference toward and a lack of appreciation of what is going on in other departments. It even happens that some departments are so incommunicado that there exists an actual state of hostility, evidenced by a bitter rivalry and disparaging remarks about the uselessness of subjects studied and projects pursued. Apparently a Republic of Letters is still a Utopia. That discord should exist among the disinterested seekers of truth is anomalous, to say the least. To such myopic disputes philosophy of whatever brand is unalterably opposed. A general research council, such as the one gathered here, is of course an antidote to such a deplorable state of affairs. The advancement of learning should be a co-operative enterprise, free from scorn and envy. Each one participating should temper his assurance and intellectual pride with that humility so beautifully expressed by Newton when he compared himself to a boy picking up pebbles and shells along the shore of the great ocean of truth.

There are, then, as many types of research as there are branches of knowledge. There are also within each type certain varieties necessitated by individual problems. The gathering of statistics, the use of questionnaires, the designing of special instruments for measurement and observation, the various devices for maintaining uniform conditions in controlled experiments—these are some of the mechanics and technique of research that need constant adjustment to problems as they arise. The ingenuity of the researcher in such matters is often a measure of his success. In other words, each problem for research is as unique as the individual who works at it, whether it be Archimedes solving the problem of specific gravity, Galileo determining the law of falling bodies, Joule discovering the principle of equivalence between heat and work, Pasteur disproving the theory of spontaneous generation, or, to take an example from the field of the humanities, Lorenzo Valla proving the Donation of Constantine to be a forgery.

Let us now consider those characteristics which are common to all types of research and which go to make up the meaning of research as a generic term. In the first place, all research is characterized by a common aim. This aim is the extension of knowledge, not just any

knowledge, to be sure, but knowledge that finds its setting and significance in a larger whole to whose depth and breadth it contributes. Whether a piece of research fulfills this requirement of significance is a question to be settled by the workers in the particular field in which the research is carried on, certainly not by any outsiders looking in. But no true research, no matter what the subject may be, is concerned with the mere amassing of unrelated facts. It does not cater to the satisfaction of those almanac minds that delight in odds and ends of information, or in the strangely coincident and anecdotal, as in Ripley's "Believe It or Not," or in making a high score by answering the questions of Professor Quiz. However amusing and entertaining such information may be, it is not the concern of research. Much less is research interested in knowledge which is obviously inconsequential. It is said that the good Lord has counted the number of hairs on our heads. I have always considered this an unimportant piece of information, to say nothing about the futility of the effort required to ascertain the fact. I am willing to let this knowledge remain one of God's secrets. It is only when the hairs can be counted that such knowledge becomes important or even alarming. It is to be noted that such knowledge is statistical, and it is statistical knowledge that especially incurs the risk of being inconsequential, of being an imposing array of figures and nothing more.

Not only does research have the common aim of extending significant knowledge, but it also has a common spirit of disinterestedness which manifests itself by being free from bias and all personal considerations that would in any way affect the method and results of the research. Such a spirit means the highest possible degree of accuracy and truthfulness of reporting. It is the truth for the sake of truth. For all seekers of knowledge the first and only commandment is this: Thou shalt not bear false witness against the facts. This is the only place where science has anything to do with morals, or, I should say, where morals have anything to do with science, and by science I mean pure science, not applied. Adherence to a moral code, of course, cannot do away with the possibility of error in observation or of mistaken judgment, but it can do away with the falsification of knowledge by manipulating evidence and doctoring reports. As an example of "scientific" chicanery, I have in mind the notorious Doctor Cook of arctic and mountain fame.

As a corollary to the principle of the disinterested pursuit of truth

is the rejection of all authority that is unsupported by facts. Science knows neither enemy nor friend. To it nothing is sacrosanct. Both vested interests and radical panaceas are tried by its impartial jury. All theories are equal before its court of investigation. Science is the spirit of true freedom and democracy. Without its freedom of thought and inquiry all other freedoms are in jeopardy. Research can be fully effective only when it has the right to search anything anywhere at any time.

We now come to another characteristic common to all research, however diverse the methods. Any research must conform to the general principles of logical decency, such as coherence with established truth and correspondence with discovered fact. Any conclusion that is reached must somehow hang together, be devoid of contradictions, and thereby present an intelligible account. Logical implications arise which are of a formal nature and have a universal application. The orderly processes of thinking work toward a systematization of facts. Causal relationships are determined, similarities and differences are noted, classifications are made, analogies are drawn, evidence is weighed, correlations are observed, certain assumptions are taken for granted. These various ways of arriving at knowledge are common to all investigators, whether they are working with the natural sciences or the humanities. They all use them consciously or unconsciously, whether they are historians seeking a true description of events, detectives examining evidence to fix the responsibility for a crime, literary critics tracing the influence in style and thought of one writer upon another, biologists determining the effect of chemicals upon organic growth, sociologists investigating the connection between drunkenness and poverty, physicists establishing the kinetic theory of gases, or philologists making a comparative study of languages.

In all this scientific endeavor to acquire knowledge, that is, to seek the truth, scientists are painfully aware that truth is not an immediate experience. It does not strike us in the face. It is not written in billboard letters so that he who runs may read. On the contrary, the acquisition of truth is for the most part a slow and labored effort, marked occasionally by a flash of insight, such as came to Newton when he saw the universal application of gravity, or to Darwin when the technique of plant and animal breeding suggested the principle of natural selection. In recognizing the effort required to secure knowledge, we become conscious that this knowledge is in some considerable degree

(just how much we cannot determine) the product of this thing we call "mind," whatever it may be. (No doubt to apply to mind the category of thinghood is a mistake. We are not warranted in such hypostatization. Still we have to use the word for want of a better.) We are aware in this research for knowledge that the mind is not passive, a sensitive plate for the reception of a record. Though knowledge is derived from facts that are referred to a world conceived of as external to ourselves and as the object of our thought, yet facts themselves are dumb. We as human beings must speak for them, they cannot speak for themselves. For example, how is it that we know that two apples, round, red, and sweet, are similar? They do not say to us, "Look! we are alike." It is we ourselves who come to this conclusion and make this proposition. The idea of similarity is in us, not in the apples. Keeping in mind this relationship between ourselves and the world upon which we pass judgment in the form of propositions, we can understand the explanation which Plato would make of the experience of similarity. He would say, "Similar things become similar by reason of similarity." In this statement Plato recognizes that all-important and, to the idealist, the only fact of existence, namely, the activity of mind, or consciousness. Due consideration of Plato's position will enable us to sympathize, if not agree, with Thomas Mann when he says, "Nothing is important which lacks mind."

But the attainment of knowledge and truth not only presupposes mind as active intelligence but also something intelligible, something that can be understood. This something is a certain state of the universe which we as intelligent beings feel must be the true state of affairs in contrast to what we feel is false, illusory, and merely imagined. Whatever this state of affairs is, we think of it as common and universal for all minds. If one mind grasps it, then all may do so. There can be no disputing about the true. Furthermore, the idea of the true can be had only on condition that there is the idea of the false. If everything is true, then, psychologically at least, nothing is true. All knowledge depends upon negation, upon at least an implied assertion of error and falsehood.

Now the fact that truth is thought of as having universality leads necessarily to the idea of objectivity. Even that part of knowledge which we recognize as the contribution of the mind we consider as representing or giving us a true picture, provided it is a necessary product of our thinking. In other words, we are inclined to believe that

necessary thought is necessary reality. This is the fundamental view taken by Descartes, who insisted that clear and distinct ideas are necessarily true. In the subject of mathematics he found this necessary truth. Here was a body of ideas clear and distinct beyond all doubt. When he saw this mathematical knowledge applied to nature and concretely verified by the experiments of Galileo, Descartes unhesitatingly concluded the external universe was a machine. So convinced was he of the truth of his position that he declared, "Give me matter and motion and I will make a world." According to Descartes, the rational order created within by the mind reflects the rational order existing without in the universe at large. This view is typical of the rationalistic school of thought. It finds special illustration among the Greeks, who thought of the world as a cosmos, that is, a world of order ruled by reason.

It is not until the advent of modern physics that we begin to realize that our mathematical account of nature is an ideal construction to which the actual state of affairs is at best only an approximation. The perfect circle that was supposed to represent the orbit of a planet in the Ptolemaic system gave way in the Copernican system to the ellipse, but the actual ellipse was found to be imperfect. Somehow the objective state of the universe does not fit into the subjective frame which we construct for it. There is a looseness and inexactness about the world for which we cannot give a logical and mathematical account. Things never turn out as we should like to have them. Newton's first law of motion, which reads that "every body continues in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, except in so far as it may be compelled by impressed force to change that state," is an ideal condition for which a concrete example can never be found. No doubt the discoveries made in modern physics and astronomy would have been impossible without these ideal mathematical constructs. An excellent illustration of the value and working of an ideal construct was brought to my attention by a student in a paper, from which I quote:

Sadi Carnot, the brilliant French physicist, developed the imaginary engine which bears his name. In order to achieve perfection, he was forced to employ structural materials which were ideal. He imagined that the heat conducting materials of the engine were perfect conductors, the insulating materials were perfect insulators, the working substance was a perfect gas, and that the engine operated in a state of perfect equilibrium. Upon making these assumptions, he was able to calculate the maximum efficiency of any heat engine, real or ideal. In actual practice no real engine has achieved

the efficiency of the Carnot engine, but because of the principle set forth the real engines have been improved.

From illustrations like these, we must infer that pure reason as we find it operating in formal logic and mathematics is in contradiction to factual experience, even though it is an indispensable tool for the organization of that experience. In the abstractions of pure reason and in concrete experience, we face the contrast between the ideal and the actual. The logical demands of the mind tend to read into the universe an order, a simplicity, and a uniformity which we are not justified in assigning to it. Holbach, the outstanding materialistic philosopher of the eighteenth century, declared, much to the disgust and horror of Voltaire, that in Nature there was neither order nor disorder. Holbach, as a materialist, was entirely consistent and logical. He simply pointed out that order and disorder are merely human conceptions and that, in attributing these conceptions to Nature, we are guilty of a primitive, though refined, animism. Order would find its origin in the existence of some spirit with a benign purpose. Disorder would be caused by some spirit with a malign purpose. Such teleology, or dysteleology, is quite unscientific. The only metaphysical presupposition consistent with modern science is that Nature is entirely indifferent to our hopes and fears and our opinion of her. As a human race we have a precarious toe hold upon a thin crust forming the earth's surface and possessing in right proportion those elements necessary to keep us alive. A mighty wind could blow us all away. A shift in temperature, either up or down, would spell our destruction. An explosion in the sun could produce a blackout. All these are possible cataclysms. In the great stretches of geologic time they become almost certainties. It is likely, however, that we shall destroy ourselves by our own ingenuity before Nature gets around to us.

Science, as I see it, is based upon only one fundamental postulate, that of causal relationship. As a postulate, of course, the causal relationship cannot be proved. It is a human conception which is assumed to hold true of our world. As Kant explains it, it is a universal way in which the mind thinks. It is the relationship which in our speculation we think of as connecting the far-flung parts of the universe. The idea of cause is indispensable, whether we explain the world scientifically or mythologically. With it the world takes on meaning; without it the world is meaningless. The act of causal interpretation is a spontaneous and creative function of the mind for which we can find no cause. It

may start with some practical adjustment to environment, as when the primitive hunter devises traps and weapons to kill his game; but it may end in a play of imagination wherein the success of the hunt depends upon a magic spell or a supernatural will. We should note that this play of the imagination, like all play, is somehow free. Being free, it is responsible for those elements in the acquisition of knowledge which are the peculiar contributions of the mind itself. Among these contributions is this idea of causation, this eternal question, "Why?" Both Plato and Aristotle accounted for it by an innate feeling of wonder, or curiosity, the spirit of which is that disinterested desire to know for the sake of the knowing. The man who has it seeks to know as impulsively as the artist who creates from the joy and urge to create. Though such pure disinterestedness is a late product in the history of thought, some degree of it, however obscured by fear and superstition, must have existed at the dawn of consciousness. Had there not been such a wondering mood, and the human species been concerned wholly with the idea of getting along in a purely practical way, it is likely that we should still be living in caves, munching acorns, wielding clubs, and throwing sticks at cocoanuts. It is surprising how little adjustment under primitive conditions was necessary in order to maintain mere existence. There was always a surplus of time in which there was nothing that had to be done. This was the period for play and idle dreaming. The first step in civilization was made when man began to do things that he did not have to do. In fact, it may be that man did the things he did not have to do before he did the things he had to do. Bücher (*Industrial Evolution*, p. 29) says that "play is older than work, art older than production for use." From this observation of Bücher we may well conclude that necessity was not the only mother of invention. At any rate, the history of science is replete with examples of theory preceding application, of those curious souls experimenting around with no practical purpose in view. The point I wish to make, however, is that science, like art, is the product of the human spirit. The scientific imagination, though limited to objective facts and controlled by reason, is creative, especially in its hypothetical functioning. Hence the pure objectivity at which science aims is an ideal goal seemingly impossible of attainment. As evidence of this assertion, there is in the history of science a long list of theories either revised or discarded. The problem of attaining objectivity is the problem of how we can know and whether we do know the real nature of the things that



make up the world and are the object of our knowledge. The problem of knowledge is not merely academic, something invented as a pastime for speculative metaphysicians, even though it has led, as a modern critic has put it, to all "the horrors of epistemology." On the contrary, it is a question which should be of real concern to all who are interested in literature, history, art, or the natural and social sciences. An understanding of what this problem is, no matter whether it can be solved or not (I feel quite convinced that it cannot be solved and that therefore it is a philosophical problem and not a scientific one), I say, an understanding of what the problem is will reveal to us our possibilities and limitations. It is the best antidote that I know of to dogmatism in religion, in science, or wherever else found. It is the source of a healthy scepticism from which we may derive a proper sense of humility.

A little reflection will make us aware of a decided difference between our acquaintance, or experience—loosely thought of as our knowledge of an object—and the object of our knowledge. Our actual acquaintance or experience of an object is entirely private and subjective. Each one of us is confined to his own set of sense impressions. They are what are given to him, and, because they seem to have their source in objects outside him, he naturally locates these sense impressions in these objects and naively thinks of these impressions as the qualities, or attributes, of an external world. The objects in the external world are thought of as substances that somehow possess and hold up or hold together the qualities. Substance functions as a principle of unity and permanence, a gathering point for all the qualities that adhere to it. Thus a lump of sugar looks white, tastes sweet, feels rough, and therefore is white, sweet, and rough. But if we realize, as we must, that these sensations are in the perceiving organism and not in the physical object of preception, we are compelled to take an entirely different view of the world. The same object may produce different impressions upon different persons, or different impressions upon the same person at different times. Sugar may be sweet to me and bitter to you, or sweet to me now but bitter at some other time. If sweetness is a quality in the sugar, it is difficult to understand how sugar can also be bitter. I may also dream of seeing and tasting an object which I identify as sugar. What connection is there between the sugar that I dream of and the sugar that I call real? All these considerations compel us to make a distinction between appearance and reality. This does not mean that appearance is necessarily unreal, but only a different kind of reality.

Appearance may be altogether illusory; yet the illusion is real as an experience, and, if reality is judged in terms of consequences, the illusion may have a pragmatic reality of tragic importance. Our insane asylums can furnish instances. Herr Hitler with his "racial" complex and his grandiose scheme of world domination is a case in point.

All sense impressions, which we may call immediate experience, may be termed the raw content of experience. They are what are given to us, and we have to accept them because we have no other choice. From these data we are constantly selecting those that serve our interests and purposes at the time of selection. The others we neglect or are even unconscious of. These selections that we make are abstractions from a total situation. It is impossible, undesirable, and impracticable to attend to all the sense data at once. Psychological introspection not only reveals the subjective nature of sense data, that is, the colors, sounds, tastes, smells, and the feel of things, but also science reveals it. If we are to believe the scientific account of sense impressions, we must conclude that they are the result of two processes, an outer process described by the physicist, and an inner process described by the physiologist. A physical stimulus from without acting upon a nerve stimulated within produces a sensation the nature of which depends upon the sense-organ whose nerve is stimulated and upon the character of the stimulus. This account of our impressions from an external world is called the causal theory of perception. If we accept it, we are forced to the conclusion that our external world is not what it appears to be. It has been stripped of its qualities. These qualities are discovered to be subjective sensations whose locus is in us and not in the object where we are in the habit of thinking they are. The expression "in us" gives rise to some puzzling questions. If these sensations are in us, where are they in us and what is their nature? Are they in our heads, do they occupy space, are they mental or physical, or both or neither? Being apparently caused by physical processes, how can they be "mental"? And what do we mean by "mental" anyway? And also what do we mean by "physical"?

The causal theory of perception leaves us, then, with a gutted world, a skeletal framework shorn of its richness and beauty. It is with this framework that the natural sciences are mainly concerned, especially the sciences of physics and chemistry. Physics cannot tell us about color and sound as such, but it has a good deal to say about light waves and sound waves, neither of which are light or sound. Chemistry can

tell us nothing about the sweetness of sugar, but does describe its molecular arrangement and structure. The qualitative and unmeasurable are explained by the quantitative and measurable. In other words, everything is reduced to C. G. S.

This quantitative nature of the world is thought of as the enduring part. It is supposed to be the stuff out of which the world is made. It is that which will remain after all sentient beings have disappeared. It is that which will combine and separate and recombine through endless time, a process mechanically determined by the ceaseless operation of cause and effect. It is composed of energy, mass, motion, atoms, electrons, protons, et cetera. These constituents and their relations are the causal conditions necessary for the flux of sensation. They are the controls of our immediate experience. Not observed themselves, they are the result of inference from observation. They are abstractions from a total situation which is too complex for human understanding, being thought of as real because they are supposed to be indestructible. They involve the qualities of extension, size, shape, mass, and motion. These qualities are usually called primary because of their supposed substantiality in contrast to the secondary qualities of color, sound, taste, and smell. The secondary qualities are ephemeral, subjective, and private, or at least they seem to be so. This view was first definitely stated by Galileo, whose words precipitated among philosophers the problem of the relation of the knower to the known.

Galileo spoke of the "accidents, affections, and qualities, which the senses spread over the quantitative data of science," and concluded with these words: "I am inclined to believe that the tastes, smells, colors, etc., with regard to the objects in which they appear to reside, are nothing but names, and exist only in the sensitive body. . . . I do not believe that there exists anything in external bodies for exciting tastes, smells, and sounds, but size, quantity, and motion, swift and slow; and if ears, tongues, noses were removed, I am of the opinion that shape and quantity and motion would remain, but there would be an end to smells, tastes, and sounds, which, when abstracted from the living creature, I take to be mere words."

If we adopt this view of Galileo, it becomes evident that we have divided the world into the subjective and objective, between which there is such a fundamental difference that we are left with an insuperable gap. There are on one side secondary qualities in a mental and organic setting, on the other side the primary qualities in a material

existence, mechanically ordered, intelligible, but unintelligent. Descartes accepted this account, and as a result we have Cartesian dualism, which settled nothing. It only made us conscious of the problem. Most of us still remain dualists because of the difficulties and absurdities involved in an absolute idealism of mind on an absolute realism of matter.

Whether the causal theory of perception is the true account of affairs, I am not prepared to say. What I do say, however, is that this theory is metaphysical as well as scientific. Its implications are necessarily metaphysical. According to this theory, the ultimate nature of the external world is quantitative and measurable. The inner world of consciousness is qualitative and unmeasurable. The unmeasurable cannot be treated scientifically. Quality must be reduced to terms of quantity. Quality is always private and incommunicable. It is that immediate experience which can in no way be passed on from one individual to another. It must arise and perish with its possessor. The task of both science and philosophy is to transcend this private and immediate experience, to discover, if possible, that which is public, common, universal, and therefore objectively true. In other words, we must find that which can be communicated, shared, and agreed upon. It is at this point that the conceptual process enters in. As thinking beings, we have devised sets of symbols to represent our inner experience and to mediate between our privacy and an external world which by the very nature of our experience we can never perceive, but only conceive. These sets of symbols are languages and especially that universal language of science, mathematics. It is with these symbols that science builds a construct which it hopes is a pattern of reality, an approximately true account of how things go and how they are related. Modern science for the most part has given up the task of discovering the ultimate nature of the objects which it investigates. Its approach is positivistic and agnostic. The modern scientist moves circumspectly; he takes a step at a time and refuses to roam fancifully through the universe in speculative mood. He confines himself to operational tests; he deals with specific counting and measuring and with observable correlations. He avoids that scientific scholasticism and that dogmatic certainty which marked the beginning of modern science and which received further confirmation from the discoveries of Newton. The modern scientist is aware of where science ends and metaphysics begins. That does not prevent him from now and then taking a rational holiday and wondering what it is all about. But when he does speculate

in this way, he will always know what he is doing. His pronouncements resulting from such speculations will never be made *qua* scientist. He will be speaking as a philosopher. And everybody has a right to treat his world philosophically. There should be philosophical freedom just as much as there should be religious freedom. But whoever philosophizes, whether he be philosopher, scientist, or layman, should remember that any philosophy is only a suggestion of a possible truth. "The whole study of philosophy," as a student of mine in a recent paper very appositely observed, "is one long lesson in humility." The same remark might be made in regard to science, especially in those ultimate stretches of science that border upon the unknown. It is here that pure science and philosophy meet.

I have, in conclusion, a few remarks to make about the relation of science to morals. Ethics, like any other subject, may be studied scientifically, that is, objectively. Such a study may be helpful by way of clarification. But such a study is not ethics. Ethics does not deal with the past, though like everything else, it grows out of the past. Ethics concerns only the present and the future. It has to do with present and intended conduct and hence can not be a pure science, but at the best only an applied science. It is an evaluation of facts, but facts do not determine this evaluation. Its regulating concept is "the ought." Facts never determine what ought to be. That everybody does something is no reason why everybody should do it. The fact that all men are liars is no justification for lying. In other words, ethics involves action, action involves will, will involves purpose and future consequences. Ethics brings up the question of utility, of the relation of means to end. Pure science may be justified as a satisfaction of the desire to know the truth. That is its ethical reason for being. Its spirit is the ideal search for truth. The result of such a search should be that inner freedom so beautifully expressed in Bertrand Russell's inspiring essay, "A Free Man's Worship."

But after the truth is found in the form of knowledge, there may and often does arise the question of the application of this knowledge to human purposes. Our industrial era, beginning a century and a half ago, has resulted in the social, economic, and international crises in which the world finds itself to-day. The causes of these crises, physically considered, are steam, coal, electricity, oil, iron, copper, and the chemical elements in general. Now any scientist, *qua* scientist, may consider these crises objectively and with entire disinterestedness. He

is not required to say what ought to be done with the knowledge or the facts that he reports. But as a human being living with his fellow citizens he cannot be indifferent to the uses to which knowledge is put. Neither can he be indifferent to conditions that need remedying. If we find people suffering from disease, poverty, injustice, and ignorance, something ought to be done about it. Here is where ethics steps in. Here is the place for the social reformer, the legislator, the professional man, the public administrator, the business man, and all others who may have anything to do with the application of knowledge, or who profit by such application. Over three hundred years ago Francis Bacon declared that "knowledge is power," and he admonished all "that they consider what are the true ends of knowledge, and that they seek it not either for pleasure of the mind, or for contention, or for superiority to others, or for profit, or fame, or power, or any of these inferior things; but for the benefit and use of life; and that they perfect and govern it in charity "

If we heed this advice of Bacon, we must admit that knowledge places an obligation upon its possessor. He may not prostitute it for evil ends. Philosophy is both etymologically and in fact the love of wisdom, and wisdom is the right use of knowledge. The right use of knowledge must be democratic in the real sense of that word. Such use will lead to a scientific humanism and a humanistic science. If among the nobles of the Middle Ages there was a principle of *noblesse oblige*, and if in our modern plutocracies there is some evidence of the principle of *richesse oblige*, may we not hope that there will be a democracy of knowledge guided by the principle of *sagesse oblige*? Under that principle scientific knowledge will be used, not for exploitation, tyranny, and destruction, but for the preservation and service of all mankind.

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STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON**

**Editorial Committee for the School of Education  
Leslie L. Chisholm, Chairman, C. I. Erickson, Cliff W. Stone**

**Pullman, Washington**



# RESEARCH STUDIES

of the

## STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

This issue of *Research Studies* is the first of its kind offered by the faculty of the School of Education of the State College of Washington. It consists of fourteen Masters' theses in condensed form. The purpose of this special issue is to make more readily available to educators the main findings of a selected number of Masters' theses accepted at the State College of Washington during the past few years. Too many worthwhile studies are laid away on the shelves of a library to be soon forgotten. The present publication, therefore, is a protest against that situation. Selection was necessary because space permits the inclusion of only a small percentage of the total number accepted at the State College. In the interest of further economy, the writer of each thesis selected was asked to prepare an abstract of his original study and present only the more significant findings of his investigation.

Basically, educational progress does, should, and always will rest on the firm foundation of research—at least as long as education travels the road laid out by the American way of life. Though research at the Master's thesis level can rarely claim the distinction of being original, especially in a field where there has been so much research as in education during the past half of a century, the studies summarized in the present publication do represent significant beginnings in educational research. Their limitations, however, have not escaped the attention of the authors and the committee.

The most good that comes from carrying out a piece of research at the Master's thesis level should accrue to the author himself. To be able to sense a worthwhile problem, to have the experience of being able to state that problem clearly, to lay out a plan of procedure for attacking the problem, to become familiar with the literature in the given area, to marshal data around the solution of the problem in a truly unbiased or objective manner and in an organized way (which is another way of saying to have respect for facts in the solution of problems), to be able to see the significance of the problem and its solution to the work of the school—these are the chief values that come to those who produce a piece of research at the Master's thesis level. Only a glimpse of those values can be reflected in the thesis itself.

Education is a field in which research is of little value unless it has some practical implication. Research has, or should have, a vital part to play in improving practices or determining policies in classroom instruction and in administration. Thus each of these condensed theses contains a section which points out practical implications of the particular study.

It is hoped that the findings herein reported will offer encouragement to educators to go about their work in the spirit of inquiry—to use increasingly the technique of research in the solution of many of their problems. Those who look forward to graduate degrees should find this issue of *Research Studies* of some value in illustrating general procedures or techniques in thesis writing.

This publication has been produced through the efforts of a committee of the School of Education, consisting of Dr. Leslie L. Chisholm, Chairman, Dr. C. I. Erickson, and Dr. Cliff W. Stone. The department participated in the original selection of theses to be summarized, but the labor of the preparation of the publication has been carried on by the special committee. This work represented considerable effort and expenditure of time by each member of the committee. The quality of this issue testifies to the worthwhileness of their efforts.

J. MURRAY LEE  
Dean, School of Education

# RESEARCH STUDIES of the STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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## ADMISSION AND PROMOTION POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN THE FIRST SIX GRADES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

CHARLES A. MCGLADE

*Superintendent of Schools, Pullman, Washington*

### PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

The purpose of the present study was to discover current thought, practice, and trends regarding admission, promotion, and related problems in the first six grades of the elementary schools in the state of Washington.

In May, 1936, questionnaires for superintendents were sent to a selected list of superintendents of graded schools in the state of Washington. In addition sets of questionnaires for teachers were sent to these superintendents to distribute to representative teachers in grades 1 to 6.<sup>1</sup> The sixty-four school systems that cooperated in the present study varied in size from 12 to 1,960 teachers. Replies were received in sufficient number to justify the belief that the results represent a cross section of prevailing thought and practice. Information in regard to promotion practices was obtained for 4,669 pupils.

Data on room grade placement were secured by asking teachers to fill in a form for the pupils in each room. In addition to showing the number of pupils in each room, the form provided the following information about each child: sex, present age, whole or half grades repeated, whole or half grades skipped, years enrolled in the school system, grade placement for the next school term, and, if retained, reasons for retention.

The questionnaires were much too long to be included here or even to be described in detail. In addition to admission and promotion practices, questions were included on several related problems including testing, ability grouping, marking, diagnostic and remedial instruction, and class size. An attempt was made to discover the points of view or philosophies of the schools, as well as the actual conditions and practices in the schools.

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<sup>1</sup> Copies of the questionnaires are included in the Appendix of the thesis

The questionnaire method as used runs the risk of revealing what those who cooperated in the study feel *should* be done in each instance instead of what actually *is* done. A reasonable check on that possibility seems to be provided in the present study in that superintendents and their teachers filled in different questionnaires, a degree of cross-checking of the replies being thus afforded.

#### FINDINGS

*Admission* Policies and practices relating to admission vary widely. At least twenty-three different regulations are followed in the sixty-four schools reporting. Most of the variations relate to the chronological ages of the pupils to be admitted. Exceptions are sometimes made where parents exert pressure or the child is unusually mature or intelligent. Factors besides chronological age which are given consideration are mental age, social maturity, reading readiness, length of time in kindergarten, health, and parent "pressure."

The common age requirement is six years by the following January 1, but only fifteen of sixty-four schools reporting follow this regulation.

Tradition and expediency, in addition to the legal stipulation of six years of age for receipt of apportionment funds, probably serve as the chief basis for determining admission practices. Though recent studies show a mental age of six to six and one-half years to be a better criterion for success in reading, which largely constitutes the present program in Grade 1, administrators are loathe to substitute mental age for chronological age. Mental age, reading readiness, and social maturity represent relatively new developments in education and are difficult to defend from the layman's point of view.

*Age, Grade, and Promotion Data* The more significant findings concerning age, grade, and promotion practices are presented in Tables 1-4.

Table 1 indicates the age-grade status of the pupils. The ages presented in the Table are those for the date May 15, 1936, which is practically the end of the school year. The ages are expressed in years and months and are grouped in intervals of three months. The two short horizontal lines in each column mark the approximate limits of the normal age range for the children in the various grades. Thus in Grade 1 the normal age range lies between the approximate ages of six years and six months (or more exactly six years and five months) and seven years and nine months. The median age for this grade is seven

years, and for each succeeding grade it is approximately one year above that of the next lower grade.

Table 1  
Age-Grade Distribution in Selected Schools

Age in Years and Months	Grades						Age in Years and Months	Grades					
	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6
6-0	23						11-9			2	13	46	94
6-3	26						12-0	1	6	19	56	123	
6-6	85	3					12-3		1	7	24	86	
6-9	159	13					12-6		2	5	18	62	
7-0	167	25					12-9			6	23	50	
7-3	97	52					13-0		1	4	19	53	
7-6	76	82	5				13-3			3	9	23	
7-9	29	114	2				13-6				8	24	
8-0	28	125	14				13-9					20	
8-3	23	90	3				14-0					21	
8-6	5	42	67	1			14-3			2	6	11	
8-9	3	20	147	6			14-6					14	
9-0	9	34	155	0			14-9			2		5	
9-3		17	116	16			15-0				1	5	
9-6	2	4	69	52	6		15-3						
9-9	1	14	40	137	15		15-6						1
10-0		4	42	120	26		15-9						
10-3			24	88	25	2	16-0						2
10-6		1	13	63	78	5	16-3						1
10-9			9	34	120	6	16-6						
11-0	1	2	10	49	152	31	16-9						
11-3			8	17	85	47	17-0						1
11-6			1	27	83	77							
Total								734	643	737	671	800	764

A striking picture is presented by the data concerning the number of whole and half grades repeated (Table 2). This is especially true when it is considered that the figures are more likely to be too low than too high. If the column in the questionnaire in which teachers were asked to report the whole or half grades which pupils repeated was left blank, it was assumed that the policy of the school was to promote all pupils regularly.

Only 132 of the 4,668 pupils enrolled, or slightly fewer than three per cent, were involved in skipping a grade. These 132 pupils skipped, on the average, about three-fourths of a grade each.



Table 2  
Whole or Half Grade Retention of Pupils

Grade	Enrolled	Whole Year Repeating*	Pupils Repeating	Average Years Repeated by Repeaters	Per Cent Pupils Repeating
1	871	91	102	.89	11.6
2	722	137½	139	.98	15.9
3	738	146	131	1.11	19.8
4	740	213½	178	1.2	24.1
5	838	189½	164	1.16	19.5
6	760	251½	209	1.2	27.5
Total	4669	1029	923	1.1	19.8

\*The number of half years repeated was converted into full years by dividing by two.

Table 3 shows the number of pupils the teachers anticipate will be promoted, retained, promoted conditionally, or placed at the end of the year.

Table 3  
Grade Placement for the Next School Year, 1936-37

Grade	Number Pupils Enrolled	Number Promoted	Per Cent	Number Retained	Per Cent	Number Promoted Conditionally	Per Cent	Number Placed	Per Cent
1	871	764	87.7	96	11.0	11	1.3		0.5
2	722	668	92.5	32	4.4	22	3.0		
3	738	693	93.9	27	3.6	14	1.9	4	0.5
4	740	710	95.9	25	3.4	5	.4	2	0.3
5	838	800	95.5	23	2.7	9	1.1	6	0.7
6	760	718	94.5	19	2.5	16	2.1	7	0.9
Total	4669	4353	93.0	222	4.8	75	1.6	19	0.5

Reasons for non-promotions at the close of the year 1935-36 are shown in Table 4. It will be seen that the groups of reasons are not mutually exclusive.

*Promotion Policies and Practices.* Superintendents were asked the question: "Do you, as a superintendent, have a general policy or theory concerning promotion or non-promotion which you convey to teachers through teachers' meetings or bulletins, and which they are expected to keep in mind and follow in deciding upon promotions at the end of

Table 4  
Reasons for Non-promotion of Pupils

Reason	Total	Mention by Grades					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1. No reason given	28	8	6		3	11	
2. Low mentality, poor ability	25	10	3	6	3		3
3. Immaturity, physical, mental, social	59	37	6	8	5	1	2
4. Achievement below standard	44	9	9	4	11	6	5
5. Absence, irregular attendance	24	15	2		1	2	4
6. Poor health, physical defects, illness	33	18	5	7		2	1
7. Emotional disturbances, maladjustment	2	2					
8. Poor effort and application	17	9	1		1	1	5
9. Miscellaneous	9	4		4	1		

the semester or year?" Fifty-nine out of the sixty-seven answered "Yes."

Superintendents replying "Yes" to the question above were asked to "state fully this general policy or theory." Sixty out of sixty-seven responded. Attempts to interpret and classify these policies as expressed proved to be very difficult.

It seems best to construct three hypothetical promotion policies representing degrees of concern for academic standards and individual differences, and then attempt to group schools under these hypothetical policies. It is felt that the summary below represents the situation as well as possible under the limitations.

#### Promotion Policies

#### Number of Schools Following Policy

1. The school definitely emphasizes subject matter achievement in its promotion policy. Child must "pass" in all or in a certain number of major subjects. Very limited allowance is made for individual differences, but generally no pupil is kept in one grade longer than two years. Nothing is said indicating that the school attempts to adjust its program to the interest, abilities, and needs of the pupils.
2. The school is similar to 1 above but makes greater allowance for the individual differences. There is some evidence that the program is modified for the slow-learning child. No pupil is retained if already retarded one year or more. The promotion policy expresses some consideration for effort, industry, home conditions, health, etc.
3. The school practically always promotes regularly after one year of experience in a grade. Standards are clearly adapted to in-

10

30

dividual differences The child is retained on rare occasions if it is definitely clear that retention is best from the standpoint of his all-round development	9
4 Unclassifiable because the statements were not clear or because the statements were contradictory	11
Total	<hr/> 60

Another index to promotion policies was obtained from both superintendents and teachers by asking them to check one of two statements concerning the elementary school.<sup>4</sup> These statements were intended to represent extremes in promotion policies. Both statements describe hypothetical situations. Following are the directions given and the statements:

Check which of the following statements concerning the six-year elementary school comes nearer to describing the situation as it now exists in your school. Read both statements before checking one

— — — A The elementary school is an institution which for six or eight years, depending upon the type of organization, offers the children the educational opportunities which seem best suited to their individual needs and abilities. Standards are so varied that each pupil has the opportunity to succeed. Pupil progress is continuous, or nearly so, the rate and quality of the work depending upon the ability of the individual pupil. Promotion is practically continuous. In extreme cases where there is failure, or nonpromotion, the school consults the parents, giving proof that the experience, on the whole, will benefit the child from the standpoint of academic progress and particularly from the standpoint of his personal development.

— — — B The elementary school is an institution which requires children to attain certain minimum standards of subject matter achievement before they are promoted from grade to grade and then on to the junior high school. Every attempt is made to bring the child up to his own level of ability to achieve, as well as up to the customary standards for the grade. Achievement in subject matter is the most important single consideration in determining promotion. Children below average in ability may spend seven, eight, or more years in the elementary school.

The results of the voting on the two promotion policies, A and B, are presented in Table 5.

Table 6 is a summary of the frequency of mention of the major factors considered in deciding promotion, as expressed by superintendents in their general policies and regulations, and by teachers in response

<sup>4</sup> These are revisions of statements first published in the *Ninth Year Book*, Department of Superintendents, N.E.A. (Washington, D.C., 1931), p. 79, used by Henry J. Otto in his study, *Promotion Policies and Practices in Elementary Schools* (Minneapolis-Philadelphia, 1935), p. 16.

Table 5  
Promotion Policies

Statement	Superintendents	Per Cent	Teachers All Six Grades	Per Cent	Teachers by Grades					
					1	2	3	4	5	6
A	42	63	109	58	20	20	14	20	18	17
B	19	28	65	35	15	6	9	10	13	12
Midway Between A and B	2	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	1	1
Neither	1	1.5	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
No Reply	3	4.5	9	5	3	3	2	0	1	0
Total	67		188		40	29	25	30	33	31

to the direction to list the major items considered by them. The number of factors considered by superintendents ranged from 1 to 8, the average number being 3. Teachers tended to list more factors, the range being from 1 to 11, and the average number 4.7. Among the numerous and diverse factors only one apparently is considered by a majority of superintendents, that being minimum standards of achievement. Among the teachers three factors are considered by a majority: namely, minimum standards of achievement, chronological age, and intelligence.

Table 6  
Factors Which Determine Promotion Practices

Factor	Frequency of Mention			
	Superintendents*	Per Cent	Teachers†	Per Cent
1 Satisfactory minimum standards of achievement in subjects	45	75	160	85.1
2. Chronological age	23	38.3	107	57.3
3 Social maturity and adjustment	16	26.6	80	42.5
4. Best for pupil, all factors considered	12	20	25	13.3
5. Mental age, intelligence	10	16.6	96	51.1
6. Physical maturity	10	16.6	44	23.4
7. Already repeating present grade	9	15.0	30	16.0
8. Achievement in relation to ability	7	11.6	61	32.4
9. Ability to do work of next grade	7	11.6	23	12.2
10 Effort and attitude	3	5.0	56	29.8
11. Regularity of attendance	3	5.0	25	13.3
12. Health and physical condition	3	5.0	45	23.9
13. Environment, home conditions			12	6.4

\* Frequency based on report of 60 superintendents

† Frequency based on report of 188 teachers

Teachers were asked: "Is the pupil generally expected to measure up to a minimum in any subject before being promoted?" A large majority of the teachers, 161 out of 191, or 84.3 per cent, replied "Yes." One hundred twenty-one out of 161, or 75 per cent, of the teachers who answered "Yes" stated that exceptions were made to allow for individual differences. Altogether 18 items were mentioned as reasons for exceptions.

The hundred sixty-one teachers who answered "Yes" to the question "Is the pupil generally expected to measure up to a minimum in any subject before being promoted?" were asked to list the subject or subjects in which the pupil was expected to measure up to a minimum standard, and to state the method of determining whether the pupil had achieved this standard. Table 7 shows the subjects and the frequency of their mention.

Table 7

Minimum Standard of Achievement Required for Promotion, by Subjects

Subject	Frequency of Mention by Grades					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Reading	36	22	22	22	23	19
Phonics	5	1				
Writing	13	7	1	3	1	3
Arithmetic	11	21	21	17	20	18
Language	8	3	15	17	16	20
Spelling	3	16	19	13	12	11
Social Studies	2	1	1	5	4	6
Drawing-Art	2	1	1	2	1	1
Music		1		3	1	1
Geography			4	11	10	7
History			3	8	10	8
Hygiene			1	2	3	10

Four methods of determining whether the pupils achieved the minimum standards are equally common in use according to the information given by the teachers. These methods are standardized tests, teachers' tests, observation of daily work, and teachers' judgments of achievements in relation to state and local courses of study and customary norms.

The system of marking and the standard against which the pupil or his work is evaluated, reflect the promotion policy which prevails in a school.

No single system of marking is used generally. Thirty-one different systems were reported by sixty-five superintendents. They include variations and combinations of the five-letter system, A, B, C, D, F; S and U; check lists, descriptive statements, and other devices. Few schools have adopted the informal letter or descriptive statement type of report.

Both superintendents and teachers were asked: "Whatever your system of marks, what do you use as a standard against which to evaluate the work of the individual pupil?" According to the replies from the superintendents, only twenty-five out of sixty-five schools, or 38.5 per cent, use a single standard of evaluation, and the remainder use two or more standards. The standards most frequently used, either singly or in combination, are (1) achievement in relation to ability, (2) achievement in relation to customary standards, and (3) achievement in relation to class average.

The few schools using the descriptive statement type of report base comments on the all-round development of the child.

Teachers were questioned concerning their use of ability grouping with differentiated standards of achievement and varying minimum requirements.

Table 8 is a tabulation of the replies.

A significant proportion of teachers, 42 per cent, reported that non-promotion had little or no effect on the child's personality, or that it was a definite benefit. Fewer than one-third definitely expressed the idea that non-promotion was bad in terms of the child's personality, and about one-fifth thought non-promotion sometimes good and sometimes bad, depending upon the circumstances and the particular child.

Though most of the teachers did not feel that non-promotion affected the child's personality adversely, they apparently all agreed that the frequent use of failure as a threat was bad. The use of this device was reported as follows: "frequently"—no teachers; "occasionally"—30 teachers; "seldom"—111 teachers; "never"—56 teachers.

Teachers were asked, "As you recall it, has your percentage of non-promotions tended to increase, decrease, or remain the same during the last few years?" Table 9 presents a summary of the replies.

Specific regulations governing acceleration vary widely, but the viewpoints of the fifty-seven superintendents who responded to the direction to state their policies or practices can be summarized under three headings. These headings are, however, not very different from

**Table 8**  
**Ability Grouping in Current Practice**

	Grades						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
Number who use ability grouping	38	27	21	19	16	12	133
Number who do not use ability grouping	1		3	10	16	19	49
Number who did not reply	2	2	2	3			9
	2	9	11	7	5	7	42
Number of ability groups set up	2 or 3	5	1	9	5	3	25
	3	10	12	3	6	4	49
	3 or 4	2	1	1	1		6
	4	1	1		1		3
	4 or 5	1					1
	5	1					1
	Varies		1		1	1	4
Number who differentiate standards for the different ability groups	34	23	18	18	14	11	118
Number who do not differentiate standards for the different ability groups	4	2	3		1		10
Number who did not reply		2		1	1	1	5
Different standards include varying minimum requirements	26	21	15	17	13	8	100
Different standards do not include varying minimum requirements	10	4	6		2	3	25
No reply	2	2		2	1	1	8

**Table 9**  
**Trend in Non-promotion of Pupils**

	Number of Teachers by Grades							Per Cent
	1	2	3	4	5	6	All	
Tended to increase	4	1	1	2	1	2	11	5.9
Tended to decrease	17	15	15	14	24	18	103	54.5
Tended to remain the same	18	9	7	13	6	6	59	31.2
Uncertain	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	2.6
No Reply	2	3	2	1	2	3	11	5.9
Total	41	29	26	31	32	30	189	100.1

each other. The number of superintendents expressing each viewpoint is shown in Table 10.

Table 10  
Policies Pertaining to the Acceleration of Pupils

Double Promotion:	Number Superintendents
1. Discouraged, or permitted only occasionally	37
2. Not permitted	18
3. Permitted under special plans	2
Total	57

In all respects, the superintendents and the teachers had nearly identical ideas concerning double promotion.

An "ideal" plan, involving abolition of the term "school grade" and of acceleration and non-promotion, was presented to both superintendents and teachers. Generally the plan was considered desirable but impracticable, at least at the present time. The definite obstacles pointed out most frequently were: (1) The proposed plan would increase costs by requiring more teachers, clerical help, equipment, materials, and classrooms. (2) Parents do not understand such a plan and would need to be educated to accept it. (3) Better teachers, specially trained, would be required. (4) There would need to be many changes in present plans and programs.

Superintendents were asked to answer "Yes" or "No" to the question: "Do the promotion practices in your schools represent fairly definite conclusions, so that they are likely to change slowly, if at all?" Barring possible changes of opinion it appears that the hope for change in promotion policies and practices lies with not more than 50 per cent of the superintendents—those who do not consider their present practices fixed, and those who did not reply to the question.

The following is a partial list of the trends toward change according to their frequency of mention by forty superintendents:

Away from rigid classifications and rigid standards	16
Decreasing failure	13
Adapting the curriculum to the abilities and needs of individual pupils	11
Continuous promotion	6
Dropping standard report cards	4
Broadening the program, bringing in worth-while activities	3
Adopting the modern philosophy	3

Next, superintendents were asked: "What practical obstacles stand in the way of the anticipated change in your schools?" The major



obstacles mentioned by thirty-seven superintendents are summarized below according to their frequency of mention :

Teachers are not properly trained or willing	20
Tradition	9
Parents and community must be educated to accept change	8
Buildings, rooms, equipment	6
Too many pupils per teacher	5
Expense	4
None	4

Space has not permitted the inclusion in this section of data on several other items in the study including the superintendents' part in deciding promotions, the schools' attitude toward parents' opinion regarding non-promotion, grade placement of transfer pupils, and trial promotions. Likewise, it is impossible to include data on related factors of diagnostic and remedial teaching, standard testing, and class size.

#### CONCLUSIONS

There is no simple and well-defined policy under which schools generally determine promotion and non-promotion. Except in a few schools, which promote continuously, the problem of whether to promote or to retain a child is a highly complicated one. As many as twenty-nine factors combine in varying degree to affect the decision. In general, the plan appears to be to maintain some sort of group standards and at the same time to make some allowances for individual differences. Whether a child is promoted or retained depends upon the point of view of the particular school, and especially upon the thought and judgment of the particular teacher who has the child in her room or grade. Under one system or teacher the child might be promoted; under another system or teacher the same child might be retained.

Essentially the problem appears to be whether the school, under its organization or policy, can or will make exception for the pupil whose achievement is below the standard for the grade. The pupil whose achievement equals or exceeds this standard is usually promoted without question. The slow pupil becomes the object of special consideration.

Two ideas seem to be striving for ascendancy: first, that promotion should be based upon certain progress in school subjects and, second, that promotion should be continuous. The first idea is based upon the assumption that there is a body of organized knowledge the minimum

essentials of which are important for everyone to acquire, and that this subject matter can be learned only, or better, in the particular grade where it is allocated by the course of study. The second idea discounts the need for such universality of learning, or holds that the essential minimum of knowledge can be acquired under continuous promotion.

Conflict or inconsistency in thought and practice is the natural result of attempting to reconcile the two conflicting ideas of group standards and individual differences. Does this conflict or inconsistency in thought and practice indicate a transitional school wherein the old elements of formal discipline, rigid standards, and mass methods are fused with the new elements of individual differences and mental hygiene? It seems so. It also seems that the whole situation is in a state of flux with the trend toward continuous promotion and all that it implies.

It should be obvious that simply promoting continuously does not solve the problem. The problem is not solved fundamentally unless the corollary of continuous promotion—adaptation of the program to individual differences—is achieved. The crux of the matter is whether the whole program of the school, culminating periodically but not regularly in promotion, is so adapted to individual boys and girls as to effect their optimum growth.

More difficult than setting the problem is solving it! Can the school adjust its program to the wide variations in individual pupils and promote regularly? First of all, it seems necessary to decide upon the fundamental nature and function of the elementary school. Shall it be an institution primarily to train children in the tool subjects, or shall it be an institution primarily concerned with the development of well-adjusted, wholesome, integrated personalities? Or shall it be an institution dedicated to both of these as well as to other objectives? Out of the propensity of American schools to experiment, an improved and workable plan will probably be evolved.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Admission and promotion policies of the school are or should be in harmony with the basic philosophy of teaching and learning accepted in the given school. This being the situation, a method of analysis of the practices of the school, such as that indicated in the present study, should be used from time to time as a means of determining the degree to which current practice concerning promotion in the school is in harmony with sound philosophy.

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# OUT-OF-SCHOOL, EXPERIENCES WHICH AFFECT ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL PUPIL DEVELOPMENT

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## PROBLEM

The purpose of the present investigation was to study selected out-of-school experiences and factors which influence or condition the development of elementary school children. Special attention was given to factors which have implications for guidance and for the enrichment of the curriculum.

This investigation developed out of a situation confronting the staff of the Laurelhurst Elementary School of Seattle, Washington. In the attempt to develop a more effective guidance program in the school, it seemed necessary to obtain more complete information about the actual influences supplied by the community in general and by the individual homes than was at hand. The community in which the school is located is known to have a high socio-economic status, and the majority of homes appear to offer advantages to children which are not possible in the average community. Also, certain reactions of the pupils at school have raised the question on given occasions whether or not overstimulation was present because of extensive planning and supervision that accompanied an ambitious program for child development. As a result, the school has been interested in the activities and time usage of the children for the purpose of determining, if possible, whether a wide range of overstimulation was present and to ascertain what the school program could do in meeting this challenge.

In the early stages of the study, a general survey was made of the school to determine more clearly the needs of pupils. The survey related to such factors as the organization of the school, its equipment, the behavior and ability of pupils, attendance, and retardation. The community was surveyed with reference to such factors as occupation of parents, birthplace of fathers, membership in the Parent-Teachers' Association and stability of population. This latter survey revealed the significant fact that clearly a majority of the vocations followed by the parents were those commonly classified as professional vocations.

As this early phase of the study developed, the areas of investigation seemed almost unlimited. The objective of an improved guid-

ance program brought in for evaluation the whole range of environmental influences. Some choice was necessary, although a choice was difficult. Among the large number of out-of-school factors, three types of child experiences were selected as having a significant influence on the individual. These were: (1) week-end activities of pupils; (2) radio programs listened to by all the younger pupils; and (3) a group of more general factors involving either the school or the home and including such items as duties in the home, physical condition, number of books read, attendance at the movies, play equipment, religious life, and intention of going to college or university.

#### PROCEDURE

The use of questionnaires which were given the pupils themselves seemed to be the quickest and the most feasible method for obtaining the desired data. Accordingly, questionnaire forms were prepared and submitted to all pupils by the writer, except for the radio survey, which was given by classroom teachers in their respective classes. Uniformity of oral instructions or explanations was maintained in all situations, in so far as the maturity of the pupils would allow.

Only one grade was used for determining the extent and nature of week-end activities—those engaged in during the month of April. The fourth grade consisted of thirty-two pupils and was selected as the most representative for this purpose. The activities were so listed by the pupils as to indicate whether they occurred in the forenoon, afternoon, or evening on either Saturday or Sunday. The questionnaire on radio programs was given to the pupils in all the classes from 3A to 8A, inclusive. The general questionnaire, containing forty-six items, was given to 273 pupils from the fourth to the eighth grade, inclusive.

The use of questionnaire technique involved some subjective elements, particularly in the lower grades. This problem was recognized, so that, whenever there was any doubt about the interpretation of any item, careful explanation was provided in order to avoid misinterpretation by the less mature pupil. Even with this precaution the phrasing of a few questions resulted in answers which were difficult to interpret. Generally speaking, one of the major difficulties was the interpretation of a wide range of answers to a particular question. Most careful evaluation and thought was necessary at this point, so

that no usable information might be overlooked or eliminated. Although the answers generally were very definite, some were either neutral or extremely varied. Evaluation of such answers could not be wholly objective.

#### FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

*Week-End Activities.* The survey revealed that many of the week-end activities are centered in the home or in the immediate community. Lessons and work projects were common activities on Saturday forenoon. On Saturday afternoon, many children were free to follow their choice of either individual or companionship activities. Facilities for bicycling, baseball, and many other forms of recreation were available and were utilized by many pupils. Only about twenty-five per cent of the children went to the movies, and a smaller number went to a nearby hall to see Junior Science pictures and to hear lectures on science. The general survey revealed for the total number of pupils (273) that over seventy-five per cent attended Sunday School and about one-half attended church.

The fact that so many activities were centered in the home and nearby community was rather striking. It might be interpreted to mean excellent recreational facilities in both the home and community, allied with fine parental interest. It was not evident that an excessive amount of supervision was present in these week-end activities or that the variety and amount were overstimulating. It may also be presumed that, because of the proximity of play areas, parents take a particular interest in the play habits of the child.

*Radio Listening.* The children of the Laurelhurst community have ample opportunity for radio listening. The majority of them have their own radios or have ready access to radios within their homes. Considerable freedom seems to be allowed in the choice of program, as indicated by the great variety reported in the various lists called for. Of the ten "favorite" programs receiving the most frequent mention by pupils of different ages, seven are of the drama type. Only three musical programs were mentioned in the entire selection of favorite programs. The three leading favorites are those of the crime or mystery type. Educational programs were listed rather infrequently.

These results suggest that more discrimination should be exercised by the pupils in their radio listening, and the school should accept this as a challenge. With the cooperation of the parents, after-school

radio programs might be so selected as to articulate with some of the subjects in the classroom or with other activities of the school and thereby provide the pupils with useful criteria for evaluating radio programs.

*The General Survey* Information supplied by the general survey reveals that there are influences in the home which may have marked effect on the potential achievement of the pupil in school. More specifically, the survey indicates a high degree of interest on the part of the parent in his child's activities and especially in regard to the school. It also suggests that the school should be alert to the need of adapting its program to the many effects of home influence. Some of the more significant results of the survey are indicated in the following facts involving the 273 pupils who filled out the general questionnaire:

1. To the question, "Could you read before you started to school?" one-half of those who replied answered "Yes". In the lower grades the proportion answering "yes" was smaller than in the upper grades.

2. Only seventeen of the 273 pupils had ever attended a private school.

3. Arithmetic was considered the most difficult subject, with spelling and language ranking second and third in difficulty.

4. The most enjoyable school subjects are (in the order named) art, arithmetic, and reading.

5. The average number of books each pupil has as his own at home is forty-eight. Many have their own magazines and have access to several other magazines in the home.

6. The average number of books which each pupil reads each year for pleasure outside of the school is thirty-nine.

7. Almost sixty per cent have a set of reference books or an encyclopaedia at home.

8. The average attendance at movies is about twice a month.

9. All but ten of the total number of pupils intend to enroll in some college or university.

10. Practically every boy and girl belongs to some out-of-school organization, and many belong to several such organizations.

11. Approximately forty per cent of the pupils have private lessons in music or in other activities during the school year.

12. A large proportion did many things with other members of the family—going on auto trips, attending movies, attending games.

13. Practically all have some duties and responsibilities at home.

14. About sixty per cent earn their own spending money.

15. To the question, "Do you feel that you have too many things to do?", 225 answered "No." When this question was considered in personal conferences, the result indicated was confirmed in practically all instances. These answers supported the general impression of the survey that excess stimulation was not present to any great degree. This, however, was not believed to be true before the study was made.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS SUGGESTED BY THE FINDINGS

The information supplied by the various surveys suggests several adjustments to be made in the school program. Each of these should be so made as to help to attain the ultimate aim of improved educational opportunities. These adjustments include the following:

1. The organization of an activity program seems essential if the school seeks to serve the wide interests and activities of the children more completely.

2. Because art was indicated as the favorite subject for all pupils included in the survey, a more extensive art program might be considered, for the present opportunities in this area are only average.

3. The interest of well-informed parents in school problems implies that a carefully developed program of public relations or social interpretation is essential.

4. A careful check is desirable on those children who apparently carry a heavy load of outside school activities.

5. Because of the rich home background and community advantages, the system of pupil participation in school policies has rich possibilities in developing potential leadership.

6. Musical groups, such as orchestras and glee clubs, should be given every encouragement so as to utilize the musical training of some children and give others equal opportunity.

7. The Reading-Library work could be emphasized. If possible, a special teacher should be secured for this work.

8. Educational excursions should be utilized to widen the child's knowledge of the city community. Parent interest and help would readily support this activity.



9. Definite efforts might be made in the subject curricula to include the educational results of various trips or any enriched experiences outside of school.

10. A coordinating council, which represents the various organized groups of the community—the school, the playfield, the church, and the home—might serve to diminish present overlapping of some activity areas.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Complete knowledge of the home and the community is essential if the modern school is to articulate its work with community possibilities and needs. A heightened sense of awareness in regard to community background and its relationship to the work of the schools should develop from a study similar to the present one. The information revealed by a thorough survey of the school and community will provide many challenges to those responsible for the welfare of the school and the community. Revisions of the curriculum must be made in some cases and various other adjustments would be necessary to meet the individual needs of pupils. Knowledge of the home activities of the pupils and of parents' plans should help to open the way for further cooperative effort which would result in greater advantage to the children. With more complete knowledge of the background of pupils, the term "the whole child" should take on added significance. This, in turn, suggests a comprehensive guidance program as an essential item in building a broader and more meaningful program for the learners of today.

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# SCHOOL-SUPPORT LEGISLATION IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

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## PROBLEM

School-support legislation has always been of interest to legislators, school officials, and school patrons; and in the past decade, with more and more groups bringing pressure upon the legislature for a share of the government revenues, this problem of school support has become more acute. Persons dealing with school-support legislation found that in order to acquire a proper understanding concerning the problem, it was often necessary to review the provisions which had been made for school support in the past. Because this took more time than the individual had available, there was a growing demand for a summary of school-support laws which had been previously passed. The present thesis is a response to this demand.

## PROCEDURE

Those provisions of the state constitution pertaining to school support were taken directly from the state constitution. The primary source material for school-support laws since statehood was the bound volumes of session laws published for each session of the legislature since 1889. The reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the state of Washington were used as a check to see that no laws had been overlooked, and to determine the interpretation and application of the laws.

The first step was the assembling of the laws on school support as passed by the successive sessions of the state legislature. Then a brief statement of the provisions of each law was made. Obviously, these condensations did not contain all the provisions of the law, and attention was called to this fact in the introduction. Because the purpose of the thesis was to provide a short summary of the laws, it was necessary at times to omit minor details for the sake of brevity. Reference to each law was documented, so that the original could be quickly found if additional details were desired.

## FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

A summary of the school-support laws is given in Chart I. This chart has been divided into the periods represented by the different

## CHART I — LEFT HALF

Summary of the Essential Feature of the School-Support Laws since  
Statehood

(The two halves of Chart I are to be read together as parallel columns.)

Year	State	County
1890 to 1895	Interest from permanent school fund	4 to 10 mills levied by county commis- sioners All fines used for common schools. 1891, county tax limited to 6 mills. 1893, minimum levy of 4 mills repealed.
1895 to 1897	Barefoot Schoolboy Law \$6 for each school child, limit 4 mills	Fines assessed in the county used for the common school fund.
1897 to 1899	\$6 for each school child All fines deposited in state treas- ury	Limited to maximum levy of 8 mills with no minimum levy.
1899 to 1901	\$8 for each school child, limit 5 mills	Same as above.
1901 to 1909	\$10 for each school child, limit 5 mills.	Same as above
1909 to 1920	\$10 for each school child.	\$10 for each school child, limit 5 mills.
1920 to 1933	\$20 for each school child.	Same as above, limit set at 8 mills in 1925.
1933 to 1937	25c per child per day	5c per child per day
1937	25c per child A D A \$3,000,- 000 equalization for county and local districts	5c per child per day guaranteed, ex- cess needed above 2 mills to come from State Equalization Fund.

## CHART I — RIGHT HALF

Summary of the Essential Features of the School-Support Laws since  
Statehood

(The two halves of Chart I are to be read together as parallel columns)

Local District	Remarks	Year
Directors permitted to ask voters to levy tax up to ten mills 1891, directors permitted to levy up to 5 mills without a vote of the people	The revenues for 1890 entirely from local sources Beginning in 1891, about 35% furnished by the county, and until 1896 the state's share never more than 10%	1890 to 1895
Directors limited to 10 mills, permitted to levy 5 mills without an election	About 60% of the revenue supplied by the state and about 10% by the county	1895 to 1897
Same as above	State's contribution about 60% of total County's about 7% Local district's about 33%	1897 to 1899
Same as above.	State's share over 50% Local district's contribution over 30%	1899 to 1901
Same as above.	State's contribution decreased from 70% in 1903 to 38% in 1909 During the same period the local district's share increased from 24% to 59%, with the county's share never exceeding 5%	1901 to 1909
Directors permitted to levy 10 mills without vote of people and an additional 10 mills with a vote	Nearly equal shares from 3 sources immediately after the passage of the law, but with the local district's share increased to 57% by 1920	1909 to 1920
Same as above	State's share approximately 30% County's about 15% Local District's over 50%	1920 to 1933
Same as above; however, certain restrictions added to voting special levies by Initiatives 64, 94, and 114	State's share increased to 60% by 1936 County's share about 10% by 1936 Local district's share about 30% in 1936	1933 to 1937
15c per child per day, excess needed above 10 mills to come from State Equalization Fund	At least 45c per day per child expected in every school district in the state	1937

school-support laws. It is interpreted as follows: During the period from 1890 to 1895 the source of the school funds for the state was the interest from the permanent school fund. The source of the funds for county support was a four-to-ten-mill property tax and all fines. Local district levies had to be approved by the voters until after 1891, when the directors were permitted to levy five mills without a vote of the people. In the last column some of the effects of the laws are noted.

Figure 1 is a graph showing the apportionments of funds by the state, the counties, and the local district taxes for school purposes from 1890 to 1936, inclusive. From a study of the effects of school-support laws as shown by this graph, the following conclusions are drawn in the study:

1. The trend in school-support legislation since statehood has been in the direction of a larger percentage of support by the state.

2. Increased demands upon public education have brought increased costs, which have been consistently met by the local school district, because under each school-support law the contributions from the state were fixed. A law which would provide a certain amount of flexibility in the state's contribution would have much to commend it.

3. The trend of school-support laws clearly shows that in the state of Washington the principle is becoming more and more firmly fixed that, in order to provide effective education for the state as a whole, it is necessary to collect a large portion of the support for schools over the entire area of the state and to distribute this money where the children are, so that equality and justice in taxation will be insured and equivalent opportunities for public education will be provided.

The laws reviewed and included in this study were those which dealt with monies going to the current school fund. A number of laws were passed by various legislatures dealing with questions of bonds and bonding of the district. These were not included. Neither were the conditions or regulations that govern the money which comes to some of the school districts of the state from the federal government for Smith-Hughes work taken into account.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is its portrayal of the development of the important problem of school support, whereby present needs may be studied and future adjustments made in the light of past prog-

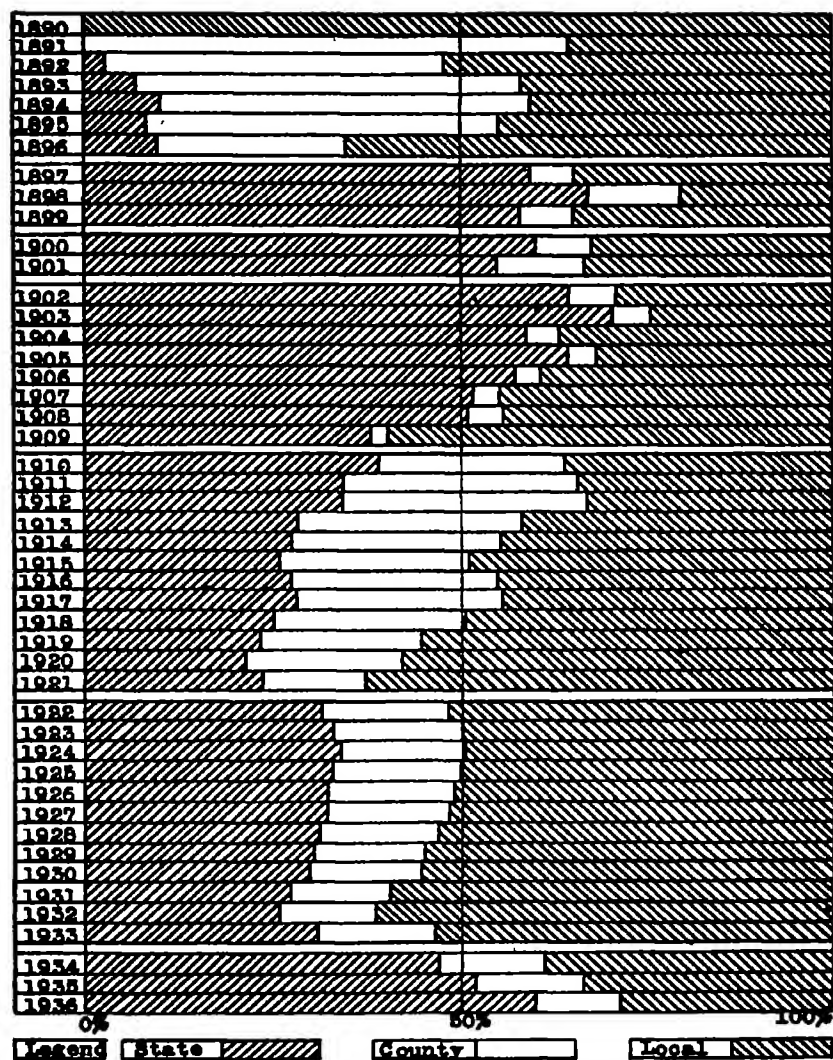


Figure 1. Percent of School Support from State, County, and Local District

ress. Here is a clear record of the emergence of the realization of the advantages of the "larger tax limit" for school support.

Realization of this value is attested by the manner in which the study was greeted by state leaders in school legislation. Two hundred mimeographed copies of the study were prepared by the Washington Education Association and distributed to county school superintendents and other persons interested in school-support legislation.

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*Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington* State Printer, Olympia, Washington These reports usually cover a period of two years and are made by the state superintendent to the governor and to the legislature They contain excellent discussions as to the effects of various school-support measures which have been enacted and contain many suggestions concerning legislation intended to better school conditions.

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*Washington Education Journal*. Washington Education Association, Seattle, Washington Since 1921 this magazine has reported the progress of school-support legislation The original drafts of many school-support measures as well as many excellent discussions concerning them may be found in the copies of this periodical

# IMPORTANT DUTIES OF BEGINNING SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

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## PROBLEM

One problem confronting every serious-minded person who aspires to become a superintendent in the public schools of this country is preparation for this vocation. He must determine what the essential duties of the position are, in order to prepare himself intelligently for the discharge of this high office.

This study seeks to determine what, in the judgment of superintendents who are actively engaged in the field, are the most important duties that they are called upon to perform. From these opinions, an attempt is made to construct a list of important duties that might well be included in courses of administration in order that school superintendents in training might profit thereby.

Studies prior to this one seem to have been incidental rather than fundamental in their approach to the problem. This can readily be seen by referring to the bibliography appended below.

## PROCEDURE

Various methods of collecting the data for this study were considered, and the following was accepted as offering the greatest possibility of success. A check list embodying all the types of duties in the list published by Fred C. Ayer of the University of Texas, entitled "One Thousand Duties of School Administrators", was submitted to a large number of superintendents. Because few, if any, superintendents could spare the time to check such an imposing list, the various duties were recombined and grouped together under types. Enough explanatory material was added in parentheses to make sure that any person doing the checking would be reasonably certain as to what was intended under each type.

The final list consisted of fifty-nine types of duties arranged under the following divisions:

- 1 General Control
- 2 Executive Management
- 3 Business Management
- 4 The Teaching Staff



5. Pupils
6. Curriculum and Special Activities
7. Instruction
8. Special Services

The superintendents selected to participate in this study were asked to check thirty duties (no more, no less) which they considered important to the proper conduct of their superintendencies.

Because of anticipated wide difference of opinion, these same superintendents were asked to double-check five types (no more, no less) which they regarded as absolutely indispensable in the conduct of their affairs. This method of checking produced two lists: the Important List and the Indispensable List.

#### METHOD OF COLLECTING DATA

The actual collection of data presented the most serious problem of this study.

Because nearly all beginning superintendents must, of necessity, start their work in small schools, only the smaller schools were included in the study. Also, because this material was to be usable by superintendents in their years of preparation, all school executives with more than twenty years of experience were excluded. Likewise, because the opinions of superintendents with insufficient experience were not desired, the lower limit of four years of experience was determined upon.

With the field thus limited, school superintendents in the four states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana were asked whether they were willing to participate in this study. The number of affirmative replies received was 163.

After all rejections for incorrect checking and for failure to qualify under the experience criteria had been made, 113 checked lists were accepted as usable for the tabulation of results. They were distributed as follows: from Washington, 24 lists; from Oregon, 37; from Idaho, 27; and from Montana, 25.

#### FINDINGS

As stated above, the purpose of this study was the construction of lists indicating the types of duties considered important by the superintendents, and if possible a second, shorter list considered absolutely indispensable by the same persons.

Any type of duty checked by more than fifty per cent of the

superintendents participating in the study was regarded as important. It was felt that such a large body of opinion was ample justification for the inclusion of any type.

The list of important duties revealed in the present study is as follows, with the number of times each type was checked as important by the 113 superintendents and the rank according to frequency in the ratings:

*The Important List*

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Appointment of Teachers	110	1
Executive Cooperation with Board	108	2
Selection and Purchase of Supplies	101	3
Relations with Parents	100	4
Discipline	97	5
Supervision of Janitorial Service	94	6
Fiscal Management	92	7
Technique of Teaching	92	8
Conferences and Meetings	92	9
Professional Status and Improvement	83	10
Personal Welfare of Teachers	81	11
Schedule Management	81	12
Educational Organization	78	13
Inspect. and Care of Bldgs and Equipment	78	14
Reports and Records	78	15
Office Management	77	16
Professional Improvement of Teachers	76	17
Promotion of Progress	75	18
Aims	75	19
Teaching Contacts	73	20
Assemblies	72	21
Administration of Tests	72	22
Classification	69	23
Diagnosis and Interpretation of Tests	67	24
Supervision of Work	66	25
Curriculum Building	63	26
Graduation Programs	62	27
Building Programs and Surveys	61	28
Guidance	61	29
Student Organizations	60	30
Surveys and Publicity	59	31

The above list, including thirty-one types of duties, may not be the only important duties of superintendents, but certainly ought

to be considered as important, according to the opinion of persons actually in the work.

A different problem from the construction of the important list was presented by the construction of an indispensable list from the five type of duties double-checked by superintendents. Being limited to five types in this checking, the administrators found it difficult to decide just what to include here. Seventy per cent of all checking, however, was confined to eleven types of duties. This indicated a consistent agreement among superintendents as to what they considered indispensable, and, accordingly, these eleven types constitute this list.

#### *The Indispensable List*

	<i>Rank</i>
Appointment of Teachers	1
Executive Cooperation with Board	2
Relations with Parents	3
Fiscal Management	4
Technique of Teaching	5
Discipline	6
Aims	7
Conferences and Meetings	8
Selection and Purchase of Supplies	9
Curriculum Building	10
Teaching Contacts	11

All of the types of duties included here seem to be really fundamental in character.

To check the reliability of the results, judgments from superintendents young in experience were compared with those from superintendents with many years of service behind them. Accordingly, lists from superintendents having an experience factor of four, five, and six years were compared with those from persons having experience ranging from thirteen to twenty years.

Correlation coefficients were obtained by the rank method and the formula  $R = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$ . The very high correlation coefficient + .94 was obtained for the thirty-one types of duties in the important list. For the indispensable list, the coefficient of correlation was + .80. In other words, there is a very real agreement as to what duties are deemed important by superintendents of little experience and by those of many years of service.

The findings of this study were confirmed by a re-use of its technique at the University of Southern California with substantially the same results.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study seems to have two practical implications. In the first place, the findings should be valuable to superintendents working in school systems of the size included in the present investigation. Whether or not all or any of such superintendents would agree fully with the rank of the duties is not the essential point. The list of duties and the rank given them should serve a superintendent as a basis of comparison with his present practice. In the second place, the method of study or procedure used in the present investigation, or at least a modification of it, may have some practical value for superintendents. It would seem well for the superintendent to check his practices from time to time by some objective method of analysis, perhaps along the line used in this study.

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# A PLAN FOR THE LICENSING AND CONTROL OF PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

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## PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

This study deals with the problem of regulating private correspondence schools, with particular reference to the state of Oregon. It was begun when the writer was connected with the State Department of Education at Salem, Oregon, and had some responsibility in attempting to enforce the provisions of a state law entitled "Licensing Private Vocational Schools."<sup>1</sup>

The Legislative Assembly of the state had in 1937 enacted a law providing for the licensing and control of vocational schools operating for profit in that state. The schools referred to in the law are privately managed correspondence schools, or home-study schools, operating for profit or gain.

This measure was enacted as a result of alleged unfair practices on the part of certain correspondence schools. Students who had signed contracts with the offending schools filed complaints of fraudulent practices, and legitimate correspondence schools protested that they were placed at an unfair advantage and were forced to lower their standards. The quotations which follow help to indicate the status of correspondence schools first as viewed nationally, and then locally in the state of Oregon in 1937.

Under date of June 14, 1937, the following is a part of a letter sent to the writer by the director of the National Home-Study Council<sup>2</sup>:

Regarding the number of private home-study schools now in existence in the United States, will say that our records indicate that there are probably more than three hundred. During the past eleven years that this Council has been in existence, we have been able to approve on the basis of the standards which we have set up only fifty of this entire number. In addition to these fifty institutions, there are probably fifteen or twenty more which contain "certain merit" and which might, with a little up-grading, be able to be approved by this body. We question, however, whether there is much of educational value in the offerings of most of the remaining so-called "schools."

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<sup>1</sup> *Oregon Laws*, 1937, Chapter 413.

<sup>2</sup> This Council is a trade association composed of representatives of correspondence schools, with headquarters at Washington, D. C. Its main function is that of setting up standards for home-study work and inducing the schools to maintain the standards set.

A bulletin of the National Home-Study Council sent out to Better Business Bureaus, June 4, 1937, contains the following statement:

Our files indicate that during the past year there have been referred to this office for adjustment 206 complaints against various home-study schools.

Another bulletin, issued by the National Home-Study Council under date of May 27, 1937, contains the following information:

At the present time the following types of misrepresentation are the more serious:

1. Guaranteeing or insinuating that the school will guarantee a job,
2. Claiming to offer an "Advertising" scholarship to a limited number of prospects in any township, community, or town,
3. Claiming that the prospect was recommended by some school or other official,
4. Claiming an offer is "limited" as to time of acceptance,
5. Unselling a student enrolled in another school,
6. Claiming time payments and then sending lesson materials C O D,
7. Use of "Help Wanted" classified advertising columns,
8. Promising a refund to Civil Service prospects upon condition that student fails to pass government examination or fails to get a government position,
9. Claiming or insinuating that school is affiliated with the Federal government,
10. Promise to send an instructor to student's home to assist him,
11. Tuition is free, student only pays for the text materials,
12. Student told that what he signed is an "application" and not a "contract" or "promissory note", etc.

A letter signed by the President of the Pacific Northwest Business Schools Association, May 8, 1937, to public school administrators provides the following information:

Over 620,000 civil service correspondence courses have been sold to this western territory and only one person in every 5,000 received any returns on his investment in the way of an appointment.

The past year, racketeers have been selling social security courses at a fancy price. Some of these men are now doing time in state penitentiaries.

The Portland Better Business Bureau *Bulletin*, August 4, 1937, states:

There is an increasing demand for competent vocational training and there are many reliable schools offering such courses. However, during the past few years, there have developed with alarming rapidity a large number of fly-by-night and questionable schools that have used unfair and often fraudulent methods of getting business.

Many of the complaints received by the Bureau have disclosed high-pressure techniques and deception upon the part of salesmen representing so-called 'civil service' and 'social security' coaching schools. The most notable case

locally was that of Social Security Counselors and the subsequent conviction of two of the agents who were charged with conspiracy to defraud by socially pretending to be officers and employees of the Social Security Board (Bulletin 12-7-36 and 2-16-37)

The measure enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Oregon in 1937 provides that the Superintendent of the State Department of Education should set up the necessary rules and regulations for the licensing of vocational schools which operate for profit in the state. The writer, who was then employed in the State Department of Education, undertook to find out how other states, or similar political units, regulated the activities of correspondence schools operating within their borders. Accordingly, letters of inquiry were sent to the proper official in each of the other forty-seven states in the United States and to the provinces of Canada. The letters of inquiry asked for the following:

- 1 Does your state have a law providing for the control and licensing of vocational schools?
- 2 If the answer to the above question is "Yes", will you please send us the following (a) a copy of the law, (b) any rules and regulations established, (c) any and all blanks used in carrying out the law, (d) any additional information that may be of value to us

Replies were received from forty-four states and from eight of the provinces of Canada. From the information thus obtained and from the experience with the operation of the law in Oregon, the writer has devised a plan for improving the present method of licensing and controlling private correspondence schools.

Of the forty-four states from which replies were received in response to the letter of inquiry, only five states had some type of legislation which made an attempt to control correspondence schools operating for profit. These states were Illinois, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, and Wisconsin. The report from Illinois indicated that the committee of five members designated to regulate the correspondence schools operating in that state actually had very little power to force nonresident schools to comply with the provisions of the law. Thus apparently only four states in the United States have attained any success in this field. Of these four, Wisconsin appears to be doing the most toward control of the situation by a systematic scheme of publicity and dispersing of reliable information to prospective students. This state utilizes the services of the University Extension Division in providing information to school principals and in having field representatives of the Division supply information to senior classes in high

school about both reliable and unreliable types of correspondence schools.

Of the eight Canadian provinces which replied to the letters of inquiry, three—Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario—had comprehensive laws to regulate the work of this kind of school. The provisions of these laws appear to be entirely adequate so far as the work in the given province is concerned, even though a correspondence school might be located in another province. This has been made possible by the British North American Act, which enabled the provincial governments to have complete control of their educational matters. Such regulatory legislation would be impossible to enforce in the United States at the present time because of the interpretation of the courts of the constitutional provisions of interstate commerce: "The business of a correspondence school involving transmission from one state to another of books and other instructional matter furnished by the school, and papers prepared by the student, has been held to be interstate commerce."<sup>1</sup>

The limitations of the law in Oregon became evident when the State Department of Education attempted to enforce the Licensing Act of 1937. When the Act was put in operation August 1, 1937, ten nonresident correspondence schools took out licenses, but many such schools did not do so. Some of the latter through their attorneys began negotiations with the State Department of Education concerning the constitutionality of that part of the Act which affected nonresident correspondence schools. The result was an opinion of the Attorney General of Oregon dated February 18, 1938, to the effect that:

1. The Superintendent of Public Instruction cannot require a private vocational school domiciled in another state or its salesmen to take out a license.
2. A license cannot be required of a school that keeps a permanent office in Oregon if the correspondence study is actually done with the home office in another state
3. A representative of a nonresident correspondence school who conducts a local office for examining students who have completed a course by correspondence cannot be required to secure a license.
4. A representative of a nonresident school who sets up a school to give instruction shall be required to take out a license

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<sup>1</sup> Opinion of the Attorney General in the State of Oregon.



Conditions in Oregon at the present time may be summarized as follows:

- 1 The Oregon Law is not workable as far as nonresident correspondence schools are concerned, although it does apply to resident correspondence schools.
- 2 Any correspondence school may take out a license to operate in Oregon and in this way appear to have the approval of the State Department of Education
- 3 There is still a definite need for some type of control of nonresident correspondence schools and their salesmen.

The principal factors interfering with the success of the present Oregon plan are as follows:

- 1 The nonresident schools may operate in the state without being licensed. This applies also to their salesmen.
2. No special inducements are offered to correspondence schools to get them to comply with the Licensing Act.
3. The people of the state do not look to their public schools, or any state agency, for advice and information before binding themselves to contracts for correspondence courses.
4. No agency has been designated or financed to inspect the courses of these schools and to evaluate them for the public.
- 5 No systematic means has been developed to make contacts with the communities of the state and give publicity to the dangers of the "fly-by-night" salesmen of the unscrupulous correspondence schools.

#### A PLAN TO IMPROVE THE CONTROL OF ACTIVITIES OF CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

The plan offered by the writer for controlling the activities of correspondence schools in Oregon consists mainly in removing the hampering restrictions from the present Licensing Act and in suggesting such methods for its enforcement as will accomplish the fundamental purpose of the Act. The plan provides for a program that will protect the schools that are licensed and will limit greatly the activities of the unlicensed schools. The theory is that worthwhile schools under this type of setup will desire to be licensed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction under the Vocational School Licensing Law. The proposed plan for controlling the work of correspondence schools will take into account the present interstate regulations and will safeguard those who register for correspondence work.

There are four essential elements in the proposed plan as it relates to the existing law in Oregon.

1. Nonresident schools and salesmen who are operating ethically will be encouraged to apply for licensing voluntarily by the relaxation of the provisions of the law relating to residence of salesmen, manner of recommending salesmen, and the bonding of salesmen or schools.

The present law makes it impossible for a person who is not a resident of Oregon to obtain a license to act as a salesman for any Vocational School. Many of the salesmen for nonresident correspondence schools must cover territory in more than one state. It seems desirable, therefore, to amend the law by striking out that phrase.

The present law provides that each school and each salesman shall be recommended by ten reliable citizens who are known in the community where the applicant resides. Inasmuch as the law further provides that the Superintendent of Public Instruction may go further to assure himself of the integrity of the applicant, it would seem that the recommendation of two well-known residents would be enough to assure that the applicant is of good standing.

The bond provided in the law is not necessary to bring about the results expected to be gained. If the Superintendent of Public Instruction is careful in the issuance of licenses and revokes immediately for causes, such a bond will not be necessary.

With these amendments in the law, it will be possible for schools and salesmen to secure licenses at a reasonable cost and without difficult procedures. This will provide the means whereby nonresident schools and salesmen may have the benefits of licensing and will not be interfered with to the extent that the license becomes undesirable.

2. Systematic publicity shall be given through appropriate agencies, so that the people throughout the state will become aware of the fact that unlicensed agents may be unscrupulous and that only the licensed private schools can be considered trustworthy.

Publicity through the press of the state, through the radio, and by other means will make the people of Oregon conscious of the fact that it is possible and desirable that all salesmen of correspondence courses carry on their persons licenses issued by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Such a program carried on year after year will develop interest in correspondence study and make all people conscious of the fact that any salesman who cannot produce a license should be looked upon askance.

3. The Extension Division and the High School Contacts Committee will constitute the media for making contacts with a large per-

centage of the young people of that state.

The Extension Division of the State System of Higher Education is organized in such a way as to have contacts with many adult groups throughout the year. Pamphlets, catalogues, and other printed materials should include a short warning relative to the activities of the unethical private correspondence schools and point out the fact that authentic information concerning these schools may be obtained from the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the County School Superintendent, or the school principals in the local district.

Representatives of the Extension Division appear before high school assemblies and other assembled groups from time to time. A part of each talk could profitably be given over to warning of the unscrupulous schools and their worthless courses. The High School Contacts Committee of the State System of Higher Education each year has conferences with a large percentage of the graduating seniors of the Oregon high schools. Experience shows that, of this group, from 50 per cent to 65 per cent are unable to attend college the following year. Many of these young people are ambitious and hopeful of some kind of further study and, therefore, become prospective students for correspondence schools. Some part of the conference should bring to their attention the activities of the unscrupulous schools and suggest to them the opportunities of the Extension Division and means of obtaining unbiased information on private correspondence schools and their courses.

4. The Department of Education shall be the clearing house and coordinator for the whole program. The following program is suggested:

- (1) Preparation and distribution of posters each year to high school principals and other selected individuals for use on their bulletin boards
- (2) The State Department of Education act as a centralized authority on correspondence schools by:
  - a. Collection of information concerning schools and their courses with an evaluation of the excellence of each school and course for the benefit of people inquiring about them (This would be for the schools licensed. Any other would not be recommended in any way)
  - b. Collection of information from the Better Business Bureau on individuals and schools for helping prospective students (This would, in main, concern only the unlicensed people, as the Superintendent of Public Instruction would have satisfied himself concerning licensed persons.)

## PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The thesis of the present study is that private correspondence schools should be required by law to carry on their work in such a way that they could reasonably be expected to meet the educational needs of the students who enroll for such work.

The central suggestion of this thesis is that—because the regulation of nonresident correspondence schools by a state has been held contrary to the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution, thus taking away from the Oregon law its strength—publicity be substituted for legal compulsion in eliminating unethical practices in this field. Through a continued program of publicity from year to year, the people of Oregon would be made aware of the fact that fair-dealing schools offering worthwhile courses may be licensed by the State Department of Education. This would cause the public to prefer a licensed school to an unlicensed one. In turn, schools that could meet the qualifications would find it to their own interests to become licensed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Two types of schools should come under the regulations: resident schools and nonresident schools. The law now applies to the resident schools, making it mandatory that they be licensed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Resident schools, therefore, are now regulated by the state.

Through the publicity program suggested, the nonresident schools would find it advantageous to be licensed. The nonresident schools that are not licensed would be unable to interest as many students as now. The publicity would tie together the two ideas of inefficient schools and failure to obtain licenses. The result would be that unethical, inefficient, nonresident schools would be eliminated from operation in Oregon.

It would take some years for this to become highly effective, but such a plan of publicity continued for a number of years would build a consciousness of the problems among potential students. As publicity is given to the unethical schools and a license consciousness is developed, the operation of the unlicensed schools would be so hampered that it would not be profitable for them to keep representatives in the state. The ultimate result would be the licensing of all schools that could justify their operation. This would result in control of these schools.

Schools soliciting only by mail and magazine-advertising would not be controlled as far as licensing is concerned. The publicity program as outlined, however, would practically eliminate them from actual operation, because people would become aware of the uncertainty of getting worthwhile instruction from such institutions.

Although this proposed plan is made directly applicable to the situation in Oregon, it might well be applied by all other states confronted with the problem of regulating private correspondence schools.

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# SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND POST-SCHOOL PROGRESS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN YAKIMA COUNTY

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## PROBLEM

The problem of the thesis was to determine the extent, to which the secondary schools in Yakima County are successful in preparing their graduates for life. In order to do this, it was necessary to prepare a form on which could be recorded the desired information and to obtain the cooperation and assistance of the superintendents of the various high school districts in Yakima County. The nature of the information necessary was such that availability of individual school records and personal contacts with students and homes in each district was essential to the completion of the study. Even with this assistance the information was very difficult to obtain, because of the tendency in Yakima Valley toward an unstable population. Work in the many fruit orchards and hop yards is largely seasonal and requires a great deal of transient labor.

## PROCEDURE

A committee of superintendents met several times and assisted in preparing a form which they felt would include the desired information and which would not be so complicated that it would discourage the various school district officers from participating in the study. Classes of 1921 to 1931 were included in the study, inasmuch as this would cover a ten-year period and give a record which would not be seriously affected by the world depression. It was also felt that classes graduating after 1931 would not have had adequate time in which to adjust themselves to life work. The study was completed in 1933.

The phases of the problem quite naturally divide themselves into three parts:

(1) The school performance of the graduates of Yakima County high schools.

(2) The post-school progress of these graduates

(3) The relations between these two.

Under school performance, it was possible, with the information obtained, to determine:

(1a) A division of graduates into ability groups, measured by their school performance in terms of average grade points

(1b) The major subjects of study and the relative number of graduates specializing in each

(1c) The extra-curricular activities provided and the number of students taking part in each

Under the second division, covering post-school progress, it was possible to determine:

(2a) The percentage of the entire group of high school graduates who received further training by attending college, university, normal school, business college, hospital training school, or vocational training school

(2b) The extent of such training and the percentage of the whole group to complete such training

(2c) A classification of the types of employment and the relative number engaged in each group

(2d) The exact types of work engaged in by the various graduates

This made possible an occupational study which shows to some extent the possibilities of work which Yakima Valley high school graduates have.

Under the third division it was possible to study the various relations existing between the first two divisions of the study and to determine:

(3a) The relation between the major subjects carried and the work in which the person was engaged, in order to find out whether the high school courses offer any special help in preparing the graduate for his selected life work.

(3b) Changes that are needed in our present secondary organization

(3c) The relation existing between high school scholarship and economic success as measured by estimated yearly income

(3d) The number from each scholarship group that attended higher institutions—with grade points earned in high school

#### LIMITATIONS

These findings must be considered in the light of certain limitations:

(1) Unstable population and seasonal employment in Yakima County

(2) Difficulty of securing complete and reliable information

(3) Lack of validity of marking systems in certain schools

(4) Probable reduction of the reliability of the data due to the *forms* being filled by so many persons.

#### FINDINGS

1. An analysis of the school marks of 1,672 pupils in attendance at eleven high schools in the ten-year period shows a definite need of a better method of distributing school marks. The findings indicate either that there is a very wide variation of ability in the various schools, or

that our present system of marking pupils gives grades far from uniform in their significance.

2. A study of the major subjects carried by the graduates over this ten-year period showed that 86.8 per cent of them had majored in academic subjects, whereas only 13.2 per cent chose vocational subjects.

3. Eighty-eight per cent of the 1,513 pupils reported took an active part in one or more of the activities listed.

4. A total of 789 of the 1,728 graduates, or 45.7 per cent, obtained at least six months of training above the high school level.

5. Only 177 of the 1,728, or 10.1 per cent, completed a four-year college course.

6. The graduates were employed at 130 occupations: 24.5 per cent at unskilled tasks, 23.6 per cent at semi-skilled work, 6.9 per cent at skilled work, 20.3 per cent in semi-professional positions, and 24.7 per cent in professional positions. The data seem to show that about 50 per cent of the graduates were employed at work that could be learned in less than one month.

7. Of the estimated annual incomes, 4.1 per cent were over \$2000; 82.8 per cent of the graduates working were receiving a yearly income of less than \$1250. It was thought that the study of incomes and employment might be somewhat influenced and distorted by recency of graduation and the economic depression. A study of the employment and incomes of the graduates during 1921-26, which eliminated these two questionable factors, showed only slight change in the conclusions.

8. Only 18.9 per cent of the graduates attended a college or university; the rest of the 45.7 per cent who had further training beyond high school attended short-term courses at schools which give special training for some particular vocation. The remaining 54.3 per cent did not receive any further training after they left high school.

9. The occupations of the pupils who graduated with a vocational major demand in relatively few cases the knowledge they gained in their vocational studies.

10. No relation existed between the estimated annual incomes and the grade-point averages of the graduates. There was a slight tendency for the low-scholarship group to confine itself to the unskilled type of work, and for the high-scholarship group to confine itself to professional work.

11. Teachers, nurses, and stenographers are enlisted to the largest extent from the high-scholarship groups. Those who had low ability



in high school are farmers, store clerks, waitresses, and common laborers.

12. The coefficient of correlation between the scholarship record of high school graduates and their scholarship as college freshmen is  $.50 \pm .06$ . This agrees with other studies of like nature and shows that high school scholarship may be used as one factor in predicting college success.

13. There was a marked tendency for the high-scholarship group to have a longer period of higher training than the low-scholarship group. Those with low scholarship in high school are most likely to stop without further training, and if they do attend institutions of higher learning, they are least likely to complete their course.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The plan of education in Yakima County seems to fail to fit the life needs of many students. Necessary adjustments should be made. These adjustments would include:

1. A definite, planned system of educational and vocational guidance effectively administered in every school.

2. Closer contact between school and employment so that the school will know wherein the training of its graduates has proved adequate and wherein inadequate. It can then take steps to strengthen the courses of future graduates. If the school knows wherein its graduates are strong, it will have a basis for determining what teaching is succeeding and can adapt its successful teaching to other courses. Through this means a gradual readjustment and strengthening of the curriculum could be made.

3. A more definite follow-up and planned assistance for former students and graduates.

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# AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY IN THE USE OF A MOVING PICTURE IN TEACHING FIRST SEWING TECHNIQUES TO SEVENTH-GRADE GIRLS

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## PROBLEM

Visual aids have been used quite extensively in various fields of home economics because of the nature of the subject matter. These aids, though helpful, may vary in their relative effectiveness. Even when some visual demonstration may in itself be considered correct, it may be so presented that it cannot be clearly observed by those for whom it is intended. In sewing, for example, a demonstration of the making of a buttonhole performed before a class of twenty, or even six, may be unsatisfactory because not all the pupils can see the process clearly. Thus in a learning project which may utilize some form of visual demonstration, the practical problem is that of first developing a method of correct and intelligible presentation, and, secondly, that of determining its relative effectiveness in comparison with other methods of presentation. This is particularly applicable to sewing, where the attention of the learner needs to be clearly focused upon a number of minute details and where the problem is also one of guiding the learner most effectively in the development of sewing skill.

The purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) to make a moving picture for use in teaching first sewing techniques to seventh-grade girls; and (2) to evaluate the moving picture as a method of teaching seventh-grade girls in comparison with the usual methods of teaching.

## PROCEDURE

A careful survey of available educational, commercial, and industrial moving pictures indicated that there was no film suitable for teaching first sewing techniques to seventh-grade girls. A moving picture had to be made which dealt with the specific problems of beginning sewing. The following techniques were selected as those fundamental in sewing: correct posture, the measuring of the thread with shears, the threading of the needle, the making of a knot, the wearing and the using of the thimble, and the making of stitches.

The Washington State Home Economics Association and the Visual Aids Department of the State College of Washington collabor-

ated in the photography of the film. Two Pullman High School girls practised the sewing techniques until they could present them slowly enough so that each movement could be seen and understood as a part of the technique. A moving picture was taken of their performance, and appropriate titles were added to the developed films. The moving picture was tried out in the seventh grade in Spokane schools and found to be inadequate. Too much footage had been devoted to interest values, and too little was spent on details; the details were not clear cut and decisive. A second film had to be made.

A new continuity was written for the second film, more emphasis being placed on the actual detail work and less time on the introduction and other interest items. The same fundamental techniques were considered, and more close-ups were taken. Seventh-grade girls of Spokane participated in presenting the techniques in the second filming.

A manual was made to expedite the use of the film by teachers, particularly the teachers using the film for experimental purposes. A short history of sewing was given in the manual to lend interest and background for the work to both the teacher and the pupil. The broad and specific objectives were stated to indicate the scope of the film and the manual, and some suggestions were made to guide the teacher in presenting the unit. A list of additional visual aids was suggested as a help to pupils in selecting the right tools for their work. The continuity included the titles as well as reference to the shots for the teacher to become familiar with, so that the actual presentation would be a simple matter. A few sketches clarifying some of the body positions were included which might be used by the teacher alone or be reproduced on the blackboard for the pupils to study.

Regular classes in seventh-grade sewing in seven schools of Spokane, Washington, were available for this investigation. These classes were under the direction of two teachers who were willing to carry out the experiment with their pupils.

In the selection of the experimental group and the control group, an attempt was first made to equate the two groups by means of intelligence scores, but these were available in only five of the seven schools. Teacher ratings of the pupils were then examined and when these were compared with the available intelligence scores, the ratings seemed to be quite a satisfactory measure of the pupils' abilities.

The teacher ratings were therefore selected as one factor in determining the equivalence of the two groups. Two other factors were also used: chronological ages, which were readily available, and the ratings of techniques in sewing by means of a score card.

No score card was available for evaluating the methods of procedure in sewing, so that it was necessary to develop one. Textbooks on sewing were analyzed, and experienced teachers in home economics were consulted with reference to the most acceptable practices in teaching sewing and the common errors of learners in beginning sewing. Then eleven clothing specialists and experienced teachers in sewing collaborated in utilizing the information obtained, along with their own, in order to develop a score card which would be reasonably objective. In its final form, the score card consisted of ten items of technique to be considered in the scoring, and each item was so described as to permit of gradations in scoring. After a trial use of this measure, it seemed to be sufficiently satisfactory, not only as one factor in equating the experimental and control groups, but also as one means of checking the progress made in sewing during the experimental period.

Table 1 presents the data for the experimental and control groups for each of the three factors used in the equating process. Forty-four pupils constituted the experimental group and fifty pupils constituted the control group.

Table 1  
A Comparison of the Experimental and Control Groups on the Basis of Initial Ratings

Criteria	Control Group		Experimental Group	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Chronological Age	12 yrs 5 mo	11.9 mo.	12 yrs 6 mo.	12.2 mo.
Teacher Rating	3.66	1.27	3.63	1.24
Score Card Rating of Techniques	8.42	2.21	7.91	1.85

The table shows that the two groups are practically equivalent with reference to mean chronological ages and mean ratings by teachers. In the score card rating, the control group was slightly superior to the other group. Furthermore, all of the girls in the control group indicated on a questionnaire that they had done some sewing before, whereas 93 per cent of the experimental group indicated previous

experience. Only 20 per cent of the control and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the experimental group indicated they belonged to sewing clubs. Thus it seems that the control group had more experience at the beginning of the instruction period than did the experimental group.

In order to determine whether the moving picture was valuable as a method of teaching beginning sewing, three measuring devices were used at the beginning and at the end of the experimental period. One of these devices, the score card procedure, has been previously mentioned. The other two were "The Murdoch Analytic Sewing Scale for Measuring Separate Stitches" and a record of the time required for a practical sewing task. "The Murdoch Scale" is based on the more complicated standardized "Murdoch Scale for Measuring General Merit in Hand Sewing,"<sup>1</sup> and was used to evaluate the row of running stitches made by the pupils on a sampler. Each pupil in the experimental and in the control groups was given a sampler of long cloth about five and one-half inches by nine inches for easy handling. Thimbles, needles, and thread, as well as shears, were given each pupil. Five or six pupils were given the test at one time. The time was recorded as well as the techniques employed, so that this time record constituted another measure of sewing ability.

All classes met once a week for an hour and a half for eleven weeks. The classes making up the control group were taught by the usual methods of class demonstration, plus individual help and drill. The classes making up the experimental group were taught in the same manner as the other classes except that the moving picture was shown three times during the experimental period. The first meeting was spent in preparation for the picture, and the moving picture was used for the first time during the second class period. The entire picture was first shown, and then the portion with the first techniques to be learned was repeated several times. Then came class demonstrations, individual help, and drill. The picture with repeated showings of separate techniques was used during two other periods. The two teachers participating in the study followed the same procedure, for both had charge of some experimental classes and some control classes. The teachers also measured the sewing abilities of their pupils at the beginning and the end of the experimental period by means of

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<sup>1</sup> Katherine Murdoch, *The Measurement of Certain Elements of Hand Sewing* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1919).

the three measuring devices which were selected or developed for that purpose.

#### FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

The main findings of this study are presented in Table 2. These findings include the mean scores for each group on each of the three measures used at the beginning and at the end of the experimental period.

Table 2  
Scores Made by the Two Groups on the Three Measures Used  
for Evaluating Sewing Ability

	Control Group		Experimental Group	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Score Card				
1st Test	8.42	2.21	7.91	1.85
2nd Test	15.18	3.43	15.27	3.6
Time in seconds				
1st Test	356.5	152.7	422.2	151.8
2nd Test	226.3	113.7	189.07	52.5
Murdoch Scale				
1st Test	8.85	1.41	6.8	1.31
2nd Test	9.8	1.5	10.06	1.56

A comparison of the initial and the final scores in each of the three measures shows that the average gain of the experimental group is clearly greater than that for the control group in the time test and in the technique measured by the "Murdoch Scale." The gains for the two groups are very similar as determined by the ratings on the score card. Further analysis of the data shows that in the time test the difference between the two groups was most marked for those who were slowest in the initial test, and there was less gain for those who sewed rather rapidly in the initial test. Also, in the ratings requiring the use of the score card, the difference in gains was greatest for those who rated high on the first test, but there was little or no difference for those whose record was low on the first test.

To determine the statistical significance of the differences between the experimental and the control groups, the Chi-square test was applied to the three sets of results. For the score-card ratings, the value of Chi-square was only 0.18, which is very low. For the "Murdoch Scale, the value of Chi-square was 4.4, and for the time records, i

was 9.09. Hence the gains in the latter two instances appear to be statistically significant, and tend to show that the demonstration afforded by the use of the moving picture enabled the pupils to make a greater gain in the quality of sewing and in the reduction of time required for sewing than they would have made by the ordinary methods of teaching.

It should be noted that some pupils in the control group made as good scores as others in the experimental group, so that not every gain over the eleven weeks' period can be attributed to the use of the moving picture. Furthermore, those who did use the moving picture for three learning periods also had, for eight learning periods, other devices, such as class demonstration and individual help. It may, therefore, be assumed that these devices also played a role of some importance without which the use of the motion picture might have been rather ineffective. Besides, it is possible many of the pupils in the experimental group were stimulated to greater learning because of increased interest due to the novelty of the film as a teaching procedure. Because these children were accustomed to the occasional use of the motion picture in the classroom, however, the novelty could hardly account for all excess gains which occurred.

Further evaluation of the use of moving pictures in teaching beginning sewing would be desirable, in order that results could be obtained on a larger number of pupils working with several teachers. It would also be desirable to determine the optimum number of demonstrations by the use of the moving picture and to differentiate between gains due primarily to stimulated interest and gains due to the value of the moving picture used purely as a means of teaching technique.

#### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

The results of this study suggest that, if the maximum of sewing skill is to be obtained by the greatest number of pupils in a learning period of a few weeks, the use of the moving picture as a teaching procedure is of value in making that possible. Whether the use of the moving picture can be justified on a financial basis will depend upon the viewpoint and circumstances of each school system.

This study appears to have demonstrated that the moving picture is particularly well adapted to the teaching of simple skills in sewing because the element of sequence of movement can be shown. By pro-

jecting the picture on a screen, all pupils are able to observe correct positions and movement from an angle that approximates their own positions in sewing. A demonstrator either demonstrates before a class in such a manner that everything is in reverse for the student, or she turns her back to the group and holds her work above her head in such a manner that the class can get the relatively correct idea of the direction of sewing, but all other positions are distorted. On the other hand, the moving picture camera can be placed behind the subject in photographing hands, and the positions of the hands seem to be the same as that of the learner when the picture is flashed on the screen.

It should be emphasized that the actual use to which the moving picture film is put is important. It must be introduced at the appropriate time and be repeated sufficiently if its optimum value is to be maintained. A well-prepared manual in the hands of both teacher and pupil should help to insure greater effectiveness, and added experience in the use of this technique on the part of a teacher may also promote greater skill for the beginner in sewing

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# VISUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

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## PROBLEM

The purpose of the present study was to discover the values and limitations of the types of visual-sensory aids available in the high schools of the state of Washington; to ascertain the extent of use being made of the various visual-aids; to ascertain how visual instruction programs are administered, including supervision, finances, kinds of projection rooms and screens, teacher training, and values of and obstacles to effective visual-aid programs; to offer suggestions which may encourage more effective visual-aid programs; and to offer suggestions which may encourage more effective use of visual-sensory materials in the secondary schools of the state of Washington.

## PROCEDURE

The questionnaire was the chief means of securing the information for the study. Questionnaires were sent to the 286 accredited high schools listed by the State Department of Public Instruction. Replies were received from 156, or 54.5 per cent of those to which questionnaires were sent. Visits to several schools served, in a measure, to acquaint the writer with the general conditions over the state. Informal interviews with administrators and teachers who were attending the 1940 summer session at the State College of Washington also aided in giving a conception of the situation being studied. This helped in the preparation of the questionnaire form and in interpreting the returns more accurately.

## FINDINGS

For comparative purposes the schools studied were divided into three classes. The first class was composed of schools with an enrollment from 1 to 99 pupils; the second from 100 to 399 pupils; and the third, over 399 pupils. This arbitrary classification was made because it was believed that the administrative problems of visual-aid programs were more nearly alike in the groups designated.

In this study Hoban, Hoban, and Zisman's classification of visual aids was used: namely, the school journey, museum material, motion pictures, still pictures, and graphic materials.

The following discussion is organized according to the foregoing divisions.

*School Journeys.* Table 1 indicates the number of journeys taken in the schools included in the present study. If the schools studied are a fair sampling of the schools of the state, the information indicates that the journey is not used frequently in the instructional work of the schools. The total of 1,843 teachers conducted an average of less than one (specifically 0.37) journey during the school year studied.

Table 1  
Number of School Journeys Taken during the Year by the High Schools of Washington, 1940-41

Schools with 1-99 pupils enrolled		Schools with 100-399 pupils enrolled		Schools with 400 or more pupils enrolled	
No of schools	No of journeys	No of schools	No of journeys	No of schools	No of journeys
35	0	41	0	15	0
9	1-5	15	1-5	1	1-5
4	6-10	13	6-10	6	6-10
3	11-20	4	11-20	2	11-20
1	21-55	3	21-55	4	21-55
52	165	76	315	28	217
Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
Average number of journeys per school: 3.1		Average number of journeys per school: 4.1		Average number of journeys per school: 7.7	
Average number of journeys per teacher: 0.82		Average number of journeys per teacher: 0.48		Average number of journeys per teacher: 0.22	

Table 2 shows the current practice concerning the use of museum materials in the more abstract subjects, such as English, foreign languages, history, and mathematics. The information indicates that museum materials receive only infrequent use in the schools.

*Motion Pictures.* Table 3 shows the current practice in the use of the motion picture film projectors in the schools surveyed. The questionnaire also asked if the school rented any of the types of motion picture projectors. The replies indicated that no school rented a projector. For the sake of brevity, that item is omitted from Table 3.

**Table 2**  
Average Number of Units of Museum Material Used in the Schools

Material	Enrollment of Schools		
	1 to 99 (52 schools)	100-399 (76 schools)	400 or more (28 schools)
Objects	0.33	0.81	1.30
Specimens	1.69	1.90	1.39
Models	0.22	0.09	1.80
Museum exhibits	0.83	0.37	0.63
Industrial exhibits	0.18	0.31	0.12

**Table 3**  
Number of Schools Using Motion Picture Projectors

		Enrollment of Schools			From 156 schools which reported
		1 to 99 (52 schools)	100 to 399 (76 schools)	400 or more (28 schools)	
Size and type of projector	Status of projectors	Number of schools	Number of schools	Number of schools	Number of schools
16 mm	Owmed	3	5	1	9
Silent	Borrowed	0	3	1	4
Projectors					
16 mm	Owmed	10	22	22	54
Sound	Borrowed	2	2	1	5
Projectors					
35 mm	Owmed	5	3	3	11
Silent	Borrowed	0	0	0	0
Projectors					
35 mm	Owmed	0	0	0	0
Sound	Borrowed	1	0	0	1
Projectors					

A relevant factor for this study appears to be the average number of reels actually used per teacher during the year in each class of schools and for all schools. Although the motion pictures were not used very extensively, they were used more than the cheaper materials accessible to teachers.

*Still picture aids* Since no stereoscopes were used in the schools, stereographs would be useless and none were owned or borrowed by any of the schools. Because the amount of still-picture projection equipment was inadequate, only 1.7 lantern slides, 0.31 film strips, and

Table 4  
Number of Reels of Motion Picture Films Used in Washington High  
Schools (156 Schools Reporting)

Size and type of film	Status of film	Average number of reels	
		per school	per teacher
16 mm. silent film	Owned	27	02
	Rented	5 30	.45
	Used	7.20	61
16 mm. sound film	Owned	25	02
	Rented	12 30	1 04
	Used	16.20	1 30

0.49 film slides were used per teacher during the year. The item concerning flat pictures in the inquiry blanks was evidently difficult for administrators to answer since none supplied the data requested. This was probably in part due to the fact that the administrators did not have a central file for pictures or a record of those used. It seems reasonable to assume that the minimum amount of flat-picture materials was used. Perhaps teachers become so over-burdened with extra-classroom activities that they have little or no time to prepare special materials for classroom use, or perhaps they have not become sufficiently aware of the value of this type of presentation.

*Graphic Materials.* Graphic materials seem to be used to about the same extent as the flat pictures. The data reported were inadequate, however, for any definite statements concerning the use of graphic materials. Yet, if it is reasonable to assume that these materials were used no more extensively than the other visual materials, they were utilized little by the schools included in this study. If this assumption is correct, the schools are failing to utilize an important and effective teaching aid to supplement the graphic material which is found in the textbooks.

*Administering the Visual-Aids Program.* As indicated in Table 5, schools in the state of Washington vary greatly in their methods of administering visual-aid programs. In one-fifth of the schools the program was directed by the superintendent, in nearly one-fifth by the principal, in approximately one-sixth by teachers who teach full-time, in one twenty-fifth by teachers who are relieved part-time from other regular duties. Two-fifths of the schools had no one person responsible for a visual-aid program.

Table 5  
Persons Who Direct Visual-Education Programs in Washington High  
Schools (156 Schools Reporting)

Person	Number of schools	Per cent of schools
Full-time director	0	0
Superintendent	34	21
Principal	28	18
Full-time teacher	27	17
Part-time teacher	7	4
N.Y.A. employee	1	0.7
No director	59	38

Pupil-made visual materials were utilized to a slight extent in the schools studied. This phase of visual work seems due for increased attention, especially pupil-prepared projection material.

There is evidence that school administrators throughout the state regarded visual aids as important teaching tools. In many instances they made known their intentions of establishing or expanding visual programs as soon as school funds permit. The chief obstacles to effective visual-aid programs as listed by the school administrators were lack of funds and the lack of teachers trained in the use of visual materials. Fewer than one-third of all schools made budget provisions for visual aids. One-half of these schools supplemented budget allowances with money from student activities. One-eighth of all the schools depended entirely upon student activities or student taxes for money to use for visual materials. Three-fifths of all the schools had no source of revenue for visual-sensory materials.

#### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study indicates that few secondary schools in the state of Washington are prepared to carry on an effective or all-round visual-aid program. It is evident that the programs of visual aid should be systematized and improved. There is much evidence that educators have not become familiar with the objectives and methods of this recent development in education. Teachers as well as administrators reflect these shortcomings.

The establishment of central libraries of visual materials with branch libraries throughout the state would encourage, perhaps, the use of these materials. This problem should receive the attention and support of state educational agencies, because the schools cannot solve it alone

and present income does not permit the schools to provide their own complete individual libraries of materials.

One of the greatest obstacles to effective use of visual materials seems to be the obsolescent character of a large number of school buildings—including many which have been erected within recent years. Until classrooms can be readily darkened, projectors conveniently set up and connected to a source of electricity, and pictures easily projected upon a good screen without taking classes to the auditorium or to an abandoned room in the basement, other promotional efforts will fall short in achieving the results that could be expected. Several classrooms in most buildings, however, could be modernized easily with visual-aid conveniences at a low cost.

In the use of visual aids, as in every phase of education, the skill and ability of the teacher is by far the greatest single factor in determining the results of a visual-aid program. Projectors may be placed in every building in the state, materials may be produced that are works of art and pedagogically sound, rooms may be provided with electrical outlets and built-in screens, but unless there are teachers with fundamental understanding of the basic principles involved in the use of visual aids, all conveniences will be of little value.

The writer believes that the enactment of the following recommendations would encourage greater and more effective use of visual aids:

I. That the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools adopt a standard for visual-aid facilities similar to their standard for library facilities. The following standard, developed by the writer with the assistance of the class in visual aids of the 1940 summer session under the direction of F. L. Lemler at the State College of Washington, may be accepted tentatively:

A. Personnel

1. In schools of 400 pupils or over, at least one full-time director of visual education with technical training in visual aids.
2. In schools of fewer than 400 pupils, a part-time teacher director of visual education with technical training in visual aids.
3. Proper financial allowance for special visual-education assistance

B. Minimum equipment

1. A library in each school with the standard of equipment suggested by the Pennsylvania State Department of Education.

C. Budget

1. At least \$1.00 annually per pupil in schools of 400 pupils and over
2. At least \$300.00 annually in schools of 100-399 pupils

- 3 At least \$300.00 annually in schools of 1-99 pupils, a portion of this amount to be used for grade-school purposes.

D. Pupil-made material

1. Ample room for the production of pupil-made visual materials.
2. Proportionate provisions for supplies necessary to produce pupil-made visual materials

II. That the State Department of Education:

- A. Refine and amplify the recommendations above for accrediting purposes.
- B. Employ a staff member especially competent to furnish leadership in developing programs for the intelligent use of visual aids.

III. That every teacher-training institution:

- A. Include capability in visual-sensory materials as a requirement for teaching certification.
- B. Give careful consideration to the special problems involved in the use of visual aids in the fields covered in special methods courses.
- C. Establish an illustrative library of visual aids.

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# LIGHTING CONDITIONS IN THE WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL OF PORTLAND, OREGON

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## THE PROBLEM

This survey was undertaken to determine the lighting conditions of Washington High School, Portland, Oregon, and to make recommendations for their improvement and their optimum use by eyes of all grades of fitness.

The school plant consists of (1) a main building, erected in 1924, having four stories with forty-seven class and study rooms, library, auditorium, laboratories, shops, cafeteria, office, and rest rooms; (2) an auxiliary building about forty-five years old, of two stories and basement, with recreation facilities, a gymnasium, and a little theatre; (3) a main gymnasium building which includes, in addition to the usual facilities, four classrooms; and (4) a heating plant building. In all these buildings the windows face the cardinal compass points instead of the intermediate ones recommended for greatest equality of distribution of natural lighting.

## PROCEDURE

This survey was made by lightmeter measurements of the amount of illumination and by a study of postural and other adjustments made by students and teachers to the lighting conditions. Comparison was sought with the standards recommended by lighting authorities.

The measurements included available light in each part of each room from both natural and artificial sources under varying weather conditions, and as affected by such other factors as window-floor ratio, height of window from floor, glaze, and size and shape of rooms.

## FINDINGS

The standard lighting code commonly accepted calls for window-glass area not less than 18 per cent of the floor area of classrooms where the glass area starts three feet from the floor, and 16 per cent where the glass area begins four feet from the floor. In the main building the glass area per room floor averages  $20\frac{1}{2}$  per cent with one classroom having but 15 per cent, one laboratory but  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and two basement rooms but 14 per cent and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, respec-



tively. All rooms above the basement have glass area starting three feet above the floor. In the auxiliary building all glass area is four feet above the floor, and the glass-floor ratio is approximately 13 per cent. The classrooms in the gymnasium building have an average glass-floor ratio of 18.8 per cent (range 17.0 to 20.8) with the glass beginning but two feet from the floor.

Ceiling heights are 14 feet in the main building, 12½ feet in the auxiliary building, and 11½ feet in the gymnasium-building classrooms. Only the main building satisfies standard code recommendations in this respect.

The main building contains 68 per cent of the room space. Its ceilings are cream colored with a reflection factor ranging from 50 per cent to 60 per cent by the direct-indirect comparison technique employed by illuminating engineers. The upper walls are light buff with a lower reflection factor. Most rooms have blackboards of slate and brown mat bulletin boards. Below these the wall area is medium brown. The blackboards, bulletin boards, lockers, display shelves, and the like present no serious reflection interference, inasmuch as most of the reflected light comes from ceilings and upper walls. In the auxiliary building the ceilings and walls are of light cream but darkened by grime till their normal reflection factor is reduced from 70 per cent to 50 per cent. The reflection factor of the gymnasium classrooms is about 65 per cent.

The survey revealed no measurable loss of light intensity on account of dirty windows. One room has a small skylight which affords insufficient natural light to be recorded on the lightmeter. The gymnasium skylight increased the natural illumination upon the playing floor by 2 to 8 foot-candles, according to the weather.

The survey shows that there is *never enough natural illumination in the inner halves of any of the rooms* used for class and study purposes. The sunlight value in Portland is less than the national average, with recordings over a three-year period of 7 per cent of clear days during the school year, 70 per cent of days ranging from light clouds to heavy overcast, and 23 per cent of rainy days. Even on the bright days only one-half of the pupils in class and study rooms receive 15 foot-candles of natural light. Artificial lighting is, therefore, a matter of more than ordinary importance in this school.

With the use of artificial lighting to reinforce natural lighting, on clear days the rooms of the main building averaged 29.65 foot-candles

and those of the other buildings 23 foot-candles, but the extremely high values of the window halves of the rooms overbalanced the values in the inner halves. *On most days the average in the main building was but 14.73 foot-candles* and in the others but 11. On rainy days these figures were reduced to 9.49 and 6.18, respectively.

The following table summarizes the general findings as to light intensities on clear days in the Washington High School and compares them with accepted standards:

Standards of Light Intensities and Results of the Survey in Washington High School (in Foot-Candles)

Location	Am Stand Assoc	G E Recom	W.H.S. Findings
Sight-saving classrooms	30	30-50	none
Classrooms, lecture rooms	15	20	10-12
Sewing rooms, drafting rooms	25	30-50	12
Offices	15	20	10
Shops and laboratories	15	20	10
Study halls	15	20	10-12
Library and reading rooms	15	20	12
Gymnasiums (games only)	15	20	15
Auditoriums (not used for study)	6	10	2
Cafeterias (not regularly used for study)		10	5
Locker rooms, corridors, stairs, passageways, entranceways, toilets	4	5	2

*Glare under daylight conditions was found to be traceable chiefly to poor window orientation.* Standard practice is to confine windows to areas not less than from four to eight feet from the front walls of a room. Only thirty of the fifty-nine rooms satisfied this standard, and these rooms represented but 43.2 per cent of the total class- and study-room space. Ten rooms had windows within one foot of the front walls. Though window shades can largely overcome glare from windows, the Washington High School shades do not conform to recommended practice, which provides that the upper two feet of a window be exposable when the shade is drawn. The shades in this school were of the roller type, hung from the tops of the windows. About 70 per cent of the shades were in good condition. North windows had no shades.

Reflected glare from surfaces within the rooms was not extensive, the most notable source being the glassed-in reagent compartments on the work tables in the chemistry laboratory.

*Glare from artificial lighting was a prominent feature in ten rooms containing one-seventh of the study- and class-room space. In these rooms 150-watt unfrosted bulbs, with obsolete glass reflectors, were in use. The cafeteria room, used also for study at various times each day, had an average of five foot-candles illumination with glare from 8-inch opal diffusing globes enclosing 150-watt bulbs. Elsewhere in the school, glare was likewise due to the insufficient size of enclosing globes.*

No violation of accepted fixed-seating principles with reference to light was found.

The lighting conditions of toilets were not included in the present study.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The major outcome of the survey took the form of a "crusade" for optimum use of the existing light resources. Students in need of glasses were urged to obtain them. Effort was made to seat students so that those in greatest need of light would have it.

During fifty-minute periods of study under natural illumination, the eye-work distance was shortened about two inches. When illumination was artificially increased, the distance at once increased to the original. Similar findings concerning reading distances in relation to fatigue were obtained by the Nela Park branch of the General Electric Company.

At the outset of the study, only 41 per cent of the teachers habitually adjusted shades for best natural lighting; but after the need for the survey had been explained and lightmeter checks made, 80 per cent made the best possible use of the shades. After a twenty-day recess, however, 30 per cent of the teachers appeared indifferent. Explanation of the dangers of poor lighting had little effect on the eighty-seven students who studied in halls and on stairways during lunch periods with lighting intensity varying from one to thirty foot-candles.

Recommendations growing out of the survey led to repainting of classroom walls, increasing the reflection factor, and increasing the wattage used in one room. Greater care has been used by teachers and janitors in reducing glare. Additional recommendations were the increase of wattage in a number of other rooms and the substitution of larger enclosing globes to reduce glare.

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# HONORS AND AWARDS IN WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOLS

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## PROBLEM

Honors and rewards have long been prominent as incentives to learning, but their use has been sharply challenged in recent years. The trend in the current philosophy of education is to replace extrinsic sources of motives with more intrinsic ones. The purpose of this study is to determine the extent and practices of giving honors and awards in the high schools of the state of Washington.

## PROCEDURE

Information was secured from administrators of accredited public high schools in the state of Washington by means of a check-list type of questionnaire. The returns were considered representative, because replies were received from 66 per cent of the schools in the state with enrollments of over 500, 70 per cent of the schools with enrollments between 200 and 500, and 39 per cent with enrollments under 200.

The data secured included information on the extent that honors and awards are used, their types, donors, purposes, and desirable and undesirable effects. The fields of endeavor in which pupil achievements are recognized by granting honors and awards were classified into inter-school activities, intra-school activities, scholastic activities, and general school achievements.

The data were tabulated in each of the several fields of endeavor to show the following:

1. The number and percentage of schools granting awards in each type of activity
2. The average number of pupils attempting, and the average number and percentage of pupils receiving, awards in each of the activities.
3. The percentage of the average school enrollment attempting and receiving each activity award.
4. The number and percentage of schools granting each type of activity award for each qualification listed.
5. The number and percentage of schools granting each kind of award for each type of activity.
6. The number and percentage of schools granting each type of activity award from each source or donor.
7. The number and percentage of schools granting awards for each purpose listed in each type of activity.

8. The number and percentage of schools reporting desirable effects of awards in each type of activity.
9. The number and percentage of schools reporting undesirable effects of awards in each type of activity.

The assembled data were originally presented in thirty-six tables.

#### FINDINGS

The practice of granting honors and awards for various school achievements was found to be widely and extensively used in the high schools of the state of Washington. The implication of the data presented in the study is that the system of honors and awards is currently regarded in the high schools of the state as having educational merit. The desirable effects of honors and awards most commonly claimed were:

1. They stimulate pupil participation in the activity.
2. They stimulate pupil effort in the activity.
3. They stimulate pupil interest in the activity.
4. They create better scholarship among pupils

The chief weakness of this study is inherent in the use of questionnaire technique. The degree of this limitation was reduced by the employment of the check-list form and by revisions based on results of using a preliminary form in interviews. A second limitation is that information was secured only from school administrators. Returns are therefore lacking from classroom teachers, pupils, and parents.

The statements made regarding undesirable effects of honors and awards were too variable to be summarized.

#### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The data and interpretations of this study may aid teachers and administrators in evaluating or promoting public school practices in the granting of honors and awards. Some evaluation may be desirable in view of the fact that the extensive use of extrinsic motivating devices is sharply challenged by the current trend in the philosophy of education. According to this study, many high school administrators feel that honors and awards, as extrinsic motivating forces, have value in gaining pupil participation in both extra- and intra-curricular activities; but much current philosophy holds that the value of learning depends upon whether the pupil's participation in the activity itself brings him satisfaction. From this standpoint, it would seem important to educational progress to put more effort into developing methods of motivation in harmony with learner interests and satisfactions—with corre-

sponding decrease in reliance on extrinsic sources of motive. In this connection such problems as the following should be investigated:

1. What intrinsic means of motivation are available for day-to-day classroom instruction purposes?
2. What extrinsic means of motivation should be retained for day-to-day classroom instruction purposes?
3. What types of extrinsic motivation will gain pupil participation and then fuse into intrinsic interest?
4. What are the logical transitional steps for schools to take in replacing extrinsic motivating devices by intrinsic forces?

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# CURRICULUM RESEARCH IN CONSERVATION<sup>1</sup>

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## PROBLEM

The problem of this study is to contribute to the bases for the essential provisions of a program by which the schools may best undertake to do their part in securing conservation of natural resources. The position taken is that an important objective of the public schools should be to enable all children to develop attitudes favoring conservation of natural resources, and that in order for the schools to render this service, appropriate provisions for learning are essential.

Three practices of the school are distinguishable: (1) teaching *knowledge* as such, (2) instilling *attitudes* as such, and (3) teaching *learning units* in such vital ways as to favor the formation of desired attitudes. In this study the last practice is assumed to be the best. It follows that the school is expected to provide a curriculum which enables students to become acquainted with the indications of need for conservation of natural resources, and that research should therefore be directed (1) to the discovery of criteria for the selection of subject matter appropriate for such learning units, and (2) to the construction of tests to measure progress in learning afforded thereby

Providing adequate teaching facilities for all natural resources is obviously too broad a field for a limited study of this type. As a result, specialization in soil conservation was selected. This choice was prompted by the importance of soil and by the location of the State College of Washington in the midst of the great agricultural area known as the Palouse Country. Even this limited phase of the problem proved more demanding than could be adequately handled in the present investigation.

## PROCEDURE

Several steps were necessary in the construction of the program which this study sought to establish. These steps will be indicated separately.

1. *Establishing a basis for the selection of subject matter* The procedure employed in this step was twofold. (1) A reading word

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<sup>1</sup> The content of this study is limited to soil conservation in the Palouse area, but the techniques employed are believed applicable to other natural resources



list was secured through a survey of representative popular books, bulletins, magazines, and newspapers available to intelligent farmers and other non-technical workers in soil conservation. This survey was in the form of a frequency count of words pertinent to soil conservation and soil erosion as made by a trained investigator. (2) A speaking word list was secured by submitting the hundred most frequently used reading words to a "jury" of non-technical conservation workers, consisting of twelve progressive farmers, twenty agricultural instructors in rural communities, and six other non-technical soil conservation field workers. Each of the thirty-eight "jurors" was interviewed and furnished with a checking form on which he entered his judgment as to the frequency with which he believed each word is used orally. Each interviewee was also requested to add other words which he believed to be in frequent oral use in non-technical talk on the subject of conservation.

The bases for the selection of subject matter as established by the study may be too exclusively in terms of adult practices, so that unwise exclusion of learners' experience may result. Perhaps further research could remedy this defect by securing the vocabulary employed by typical adolescents in their endeavors to express themselves and inform themselves with reference to soil conservation and soil erosion. To the extent to which this limitation holds, it should be counteracted in the curriculum by selecting learning units that embody the needed subject matter in vital learning situations and through the employment of methods appropriate to the fostering of favoring attitudes.

2. *Constructing tests.* With an objective definitized and a method for the selection of subject matter established, the next step was the construction of tests with which to measure progress toward the objective. The tests as constructed were designed for use in determining (1) the degree of understandings of soil conservation gained incidentally, and (2) the success of specific teaching of understandings therein. Two sources were utilized for test content: the oral-written vocabulary, and a set of twelve authentic soil conservation-erosion pictures furnished by the Soil Conservation Service. A vocabulary-picture recognition test was arranged to accompany each picture, and students were directed as follows: "Place a plus (+) before each word that has its meaning shown in the picture." The test items, the pictures, and the appropriateness of test items to accompany designated pictures were carefully checked by twelve soil conservation experts. A set of

twelve sentence test items was also formulated to accompany each of the pictures. Full directions and illustrations were formulated for both teachers and students. Tryouts were made and scoring keys provided.

The tests may properly be challenged in that they do not afford specific measurement of attitudes, which is the declared objective of the desired learnings. The measurement of attitudes is very important, and appropriate techniques are becoming available. The extent of this study, however, had to be limited. Accordingly, because tests of understandings are more readily constructed and because attainment in understandings is probably essential as an accompaniment to progress in attitudes, the present endeavors were confined to understandings.

3. *Getting a trial use of the tests.* Arrangements were made with Superintendent Charles McGlade for giving the tests to the junior and senior high school students of the Pullman Public Schools. The tests were given to 382 students. Eighteen-by-twenty-four-inch enlargements of the above-mentioned pictures were provided by the Soil Conservation Service for use in the classroom. It was found that best results were obtained when the tests were administered to fewer than thirty students at a time. The usual reliability precautions were carefully observed.

4. *Making a beginning in standardization.* Scores for the tests were tabulated, and averages (means) were computed for each grade level.

5. *Illustrating uses of test data.* Grade averages and individual scores were interpreted, and individual responses to each of three hundred test items were entered on a Master Record Sheet for each student in grades VII and XI.

#### FINDINGS

The vocabulary survey resulted in a comparatively short word list, which probably represents the main conceptual learnings essential for developing attitudes favoring soil conservation.

The word count from the survey of representative reading on soil conservation totaled 434,830 words, of which only 416 (.09 of one per cent) pertained to soil conservation or soil erosion as such. The frequency of the use of these 416 words varied widely; 147 of them were used only *one to three* times, accounting for approximately 254 word usages, whereas 5 words were used 600 or more times, account-

ing for over 3,000 word usages. The 100 most commonly found words (25 per cent of all) included 85 per cent of all reading usages found, and these 100 words as evaluated by the "jury" on oral usage were found to vary notably in relative frequency. There was, however, considerable agreement between the higher rankings for speaking and reading frequencies.

The vocabulary studies were not completed in time for the selection of curriculum criteria to take full account of their findings, but this limitation is being removed. The authenticity of the vocabulary-study results may also be challenged, but the probability of this limitation was reduced by having the vocabulary findings documented by twelve specialists whose preparation and experience rank them as conservation *experts*.

Scores from the twelve vocabulary-picture recognition tests<sup>2</sup> and the twelve sentence-picture recognition tests indicate degrees of progress in understandings essential for, and basic to, favoring attitudes.

Table 1 is a record of the average (mean) scores for each grade level as made on each test by students of the junior and senior high schools of Pullman, Washington. The averages presented in this table were computed from the scores made on both the vocabulary and the sentence tests. This table should be read as follows. In Test 1, the average score made by the sixty-seven students in grade VII was 16.4, that made by the sixty-five students in grade VIII was 18, that made by the sixty students in grade IX was 15.7, and so forth. The comparatively high scores from grades VII and VIII may be accounted for by the recency of their study of soil conservation; and the lack of increase in grade level scores may indicate the need for a plan of continuing the teaching of soil conservation in the advanced high school years.

Table 2 is an illustration of the interpretative use of the test scores. Each score in the table is an average of the average scores made in the tests which were given to the following students:

- 18 of grade VII living in the country
- 22 of grade XI living in the country
- 49 of grade VII living in Pullman
- 29 of grade XI living in Pullman

The differences in favor of the country student as shown in the table

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<sup>2</sup> These tests are available at cost in tentative form from C. W. Stone or E. M. Webb, School of Education, State College of Washington

Table 1  
Average Scores by Grades

The scores are a combination of the Vocabulary and Sentence Test Scores

Test Number	Grade VII (67)*	Grade VIII (65)	Grade IX (60)	Grade X (67)	Grade XI (71)	Grade XII (52)	Maximum Score on Each Test
I	16.4	18.0	15.7	16.2	17.8	16.8	24
II	14.7	13.9	14.6	14.3	15.8	15.3	24
III	14.7	16.1	14.5	13.3	16.2	13.4	22
IV	15.6	15.0	13.9	13.6	15.5	14.5	22
V	11.6	12.9	9.9	12.0	13.8	13.8	23
VI	24.4	20.2	21.9	25.2	23.9	23.5	33
VII	15.4	15.4	13.7	14.4	16.1	15.2	23
VIII	11.9	15.0	12.4	13.7	16.5	14.5	22
IX	16.6	16.6	14.1	15.2	17.2	14.0	24
X	18.8	15.3	14.1	18.5	19.9	19.1	25
XI	15.8	15.3	12.2	14.6	16.9	16.5	24
XII	15.8	19.6	12.9	15.1	17.1	16.2	23

Average Score on All Tests	16	16	14	16	17	16	24
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\* The figures in parentheses represent the number of students in each grade who took the tests

are too small to be statistically significant, but the consistency of these differences is suggestive of possible need for discrimination in the teaching provided for country and town students.

Table 2  
Comparative Attainments of Country and Town Students by Average of Averages

	Grade VII		Grade XI	
	Vocabulary	Sentences	Vocabulary	Sentences
Country Students	7.18	9.18	7.78	9.36
Pullman Students	6.72	8.31	7.31	8.79
Differences in favor of				
Country Students	46	77	.47	55

#### PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

In so far as the readings used are adequate random samplings and "jury" findings are valid, this study points the way toward *understandings* that should be provided for in the curriculum. They also indicate desirable relative emphasis. They should not, however, be taken to

mean the teaching of words as such, but rather the study of interesting subject matter which includes the concepts represented by the words.

The twenty-four tests with their three hundred items will, when properly checked for validity, afford a reservoir of test materials from which appropriate measuring instruments may be constructed for units of learning in soil conservation as provided for all pupils.

The technique of this research should be suggestive of ways and means of establishing criteria for the construction of curricula for the teaching of other natural resources.

The inclusion of pictures in the testing materials used for classroom measurement of attainment in "field" study seems to have notable promise.

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# THE CONTENT OF HIGH SCHOOL PHYSICS

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## THE PROBLEM

*What should be taught in physics, and with what relative emphasis?* An ever-recurring criticism of education is that it lags behind the advancing front of knowledge and fails to coordinate with current social needs. What should be taught and what omitted is a question to which every effective teacher must have an answer. Objective data are rare as to what subject matter should be included in the curriculum, and with what emphasis. Yet, even though these choices are crucial in the educational experience of the individual student, the classroom teacher, often unaided, is responsible for the decisions. It was with this in mind that the problem of the content of high school physics was approached.

## PROCEDURE

The problem was attacked along three lines: (1) analysis of newspaper articles for a year's period to secure a sampling of the physics concepts and applications needed for current-event reading; (2) a selected-group-judgment survey as to what physics is needed in the interpretation of current environment, and the relative emphasis it should receive; (3) a study of the articles recorded in the *Education Index* for 1930-40 to determine what "frontier thinkers" among the physicists are publishing.

*Newspaper study.* The newspaper used was the *Morning Oregonian*, published at Portland, Oregon, for the year 1939-40. Tabulation was made of only those references to physics concepts or applications that appeared in paragraph form. No advertising was counted. Certain items peculiar to the location of the newspaper were tabulated and considered separately in order not to color the results of the study as a whole. A total of 13,655 items were checked. These were then grouped in a frequency table in terms of the usual divisions of physics subject matter: mechanics, heat, light, sound, and electricity. The term "modern applications of physics" was added in this study to designate certain items usually treated somewhat aside from the regular textbook classification.

*Group-judgment survey.* The personnel selected for the judgment survey were members of the Kiwanis Club, the American Association of University Women, and a Young Men's Club, corresponding to the Junior Chamber of Commerce. This selection was made because it

was believed to represent the more progressive members of the community of Dayton, Washington, in which the study was made. The total number of persons participating was fifty-nine. Their responses were recorded by the use of a check list of fifty-five items, covering the main topics of high school physics.

*Current articles by physicists.* The published articles by physicists, 214 in number, as listed by the *Education Index*, were considered in terms of the 1930-35 period, the 1935-40 period, and the full 1930-40 period, separately. To establish the standings of the authors in their fields, the names were checked in *Who's Who* and *American Men of Science*. Seventy-five per cent were found listed in those sources.

To facilitate recording and interpreting the findings from the three sources—newspapers, group judgment, and current articles—a single basis was needed. This “common denominator” was secured by expressing all data in weeks of the school year, assumed to be thirty-six weeks.

As a means of interpreting the survey's findings, a study was made of the content of several leading high school physics texts. Two texts were then selected as the most representative of high school physics texts in current use, namely, Fuller, Brownlee, and Baker's *First Principles of Physics*<sup>1</sup> and Black and Davis's *Elementary Practical Physics*.<sup>2</sup> The space which these texts devoted to each of the six divisions of physics was then determined and translated into the “common denominator,” namely, the number of weeks required to cover each division in a school year of thirty-six weeks. It should not be presumed that the number of pages in the divisions of textbooks is an accurate index of time spent in covering the respective divisions. On the assumption that many physics courses follow the text, however, this seems the best available indication of current practice. An accurate investigation of current practices in physics teaching is desirable and might well constitute a valuable extension of this study.

#### FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

A summary of the main findings from the four different sources is presented in the table on the following page.

The table indicates the relative frequency with which the six divisions in physics are represented in each of the three surveys separately,

<sup>1</sup> Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1934

<sup>2</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

**Distribution of Time for the Divisions of Physics Indicated by Different Criteria**

Time is measured in weeks

	Newspaper	Group Judgment	Physicists	Average of Surveys	High School Texts
Modern Applications	12.6	7.7	5.7	8.7	3.6
Mechanics	11.0	9.3	9.4	9.9	11.4
Sound	5.6	2.8	2.5	3.6	2.6
Heat	3.3	3.0	3.0	3.1	4.8
Electricity	1.9	6.5	8.8	5.7	9.0
Light	1.6	6.7	6.6	4.9	4.6

in the three surveys combined, and in the high school physics texts. Because the school year of thirty-six weeks is taken as the "common denominator," the table shows the relative emphasis given to each division if the year's work in high school physics were to be distributed in accord with each criterion. Thus, if the newspaper articles were taken as a sole criterion, 12.6 weeks of the school year would be devoted to "Modern Applications," 11 weeks to "Mechanics," 5.6 weeks to "Sound," and so forth. Or if the articles by the physicists were taken as a criterion, 5.7 weeks of the school year would be devoted to "Modern Applications," 9.4 weeks to "Mechanics," 2.5 weeks to "Sound," and so forth.

The results of the newspaper survey show a relatively wide range of time values among the six divisions of physics, and in all but one division ("Heat") the time values differ quite noticeably from those of the other two surveys. According to the newspaper count, "Modern Applications" should be allotted slightly more than a full third of the school year in contrast to a period of about 3.5 weeks to be allotted to "Electricity" and "Light" together. In the articles of the physicists, "Modern Applications" is rated relatively low in comparison with the other two sets of ratings. It is noteworthy, however, that in general the results based on articles by the physicists agree very closely with the results obtained by selected-group judgment.

To provide a composite criterion, the data for the three surveys were combined by the process of averaging, and the averages, presented in the table, may serve as an estimate of "social usage" expressed in terms of the "common denominator," that is, in terms of weeks. No weighting of time values was attempted, but the composite values represent one type of criterion against which one might judge the relative importance of different sections of subject matter in a text. It is



a criterion that obviously needs to be used with caution, but it is suggestive enough to warrant some consideration.

A striking feature revealed by a comparison of the last two columns in the table is the closeness of agreement between "social usage" and the texts. Only two marked deviations are apparent. In the texts, "Electricity" is receiving too much attention (9 weeks instead of a desirable period of approximately 6 weeks), and "Modern Applications" is being accorded too little time (3.6 weeks instead of a desirable 8.7 weeks). The rest of the divisions agree within a probable normal range of fluctuation in teaching, so that differences need not be considered significant.

Much the same results were obtained when comparison was made with various combinations of the data obtained, additional support being thus lent to the conclusions. Study of all the data revealed a need of increased attention to physics as applied to the automobile, airplane, and radio. Because the study covered data only up to 1940, the present Defense Program does not color the results.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The procedure of this study illustrates one method of endeavoring to secure objective bases for the selection and determination of desirable relative emphasis of subject matter. In the absence of more convincing evidence, the physics course in Dayton, Washington, and other similar communities may well give more attention to "Modern Applications" and less to the theory and mathematics of electricity than is indicated in the two leading physics textbooks examined.

Recognition of social value by the more competent adults of the community is some indication that certain phases of physics should be included in the curriculum of the typical high school student, and this indication is the more convincing in that the check list is based on questions asked by representative high school students in their quest for interpretation of their environment.

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# AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF READING

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## THE PROBLEM

Most of the experimental studies of improvement in reading have related to the diagnosis and treatment of individual difficulties. The individual procedure has proved very effective and will continue to be used at various levels of reading ability. Group methods have also been used to improve reading, but this procedure has apparently been limited to the elementary school grades.

The purpose of the present study was to determine the value of a special program for the improvement of reading at the secondary level. The program of instruction was administered by group methods with all members of a class performing the same exercises at the same time, and with no attempt to suit the instruction to any particular deficiency previously discovered. Individual diagnosis or treatment of deficiency was not attempted.

## PROCEDURE

At the time of the study three classes of sophomore students in the senior high school of Clarkston, Washington, were available for the experiment. Under the circumstances, it was most feasible that the two groups for the experiment be selected on the basis of grades made during the previous semester. When the letter grades were converted into numerical values, two of the groups made exactly the same scholastic average, namely, 2.21 points. Accordingly, one group was selected as the experimental group and the other as the control group. There were 16 boys and 18 girls in the former group and 15 boys and 11 girls in the latter group. The Iowa Silent Reading Tests, Advanced (2), were used to determine the reading ability of the two groups of students, both at the beginning of the experiment and at its completion. Form A (Revised) was given in the standard manner at the beginning of the semester, and Form B (Revised) at the end of the twelve weeks' experimental period.

At the beginning of the instructional program for the experimental group it was explained to the students that they would study some special lessons for the purpose of improving their speed and comprehension in reading. Hovious' *Following Printed Trails* (4) had been selected as the main text because its content provided practice in different aspects of reading, and supplementary

manuals (5) (6) provided exercises and tests which were intended to facilitate improvement in reading. Copies of the text were kept in the classroom and distributed to the students at each period. A standard text in literature, *Literature and Life*, Book II (Revised edition) (7) was also used by the experimental group. Approximately forty class periods averaging about forty minutes each in actual time spent were devoted to the improvement of reading over a period of twelve weeks.

During the period of the experiment, special emphasis was given to each of the following factors:

1. Attention or concentration
2. Elimination of lip and excessive sub-vocal movements.
3. Selection of main ideas
4. Selection of important details
5. Précis writing or abstracting.
6. Key wording.
7. Phrasing
8. Vocabulary—use of context, word roots, and derivatives in determining the meaning of new words.
9. Association and transfer of previous experience and reading to new reading situations
- 10 Visual imagery as an aid to comprehension

This program of instruction in the improvement of reading did not occupy all the time of every class period. The parts of the periods not used by the program were devoted to the regular study of literature. The following examples of class procedure help to illustrate how the work was carried on.

- February 7      Aim—Attention of students to reading as a skill  
                    Procedure—Students read essay on reading ability and were given a test on the subject matter of the essay  
                    Materials—Hovious (4), problem 1, pp 3-8 Comprehension Test (5)
- February 17    Aim—Speed and comprehension of reading; testing.  
                    Procedure—The students read silently an essay of about 1500 words and were tested on their knowledge of main ideas. The reading time was kept, so that each individual could calculate the average number of words per minute. The score of comprehension and the speed were recorded on each individual's graph. The instructor kept a master set, recording the score and speed of each individual.  
                    Materials—Hovious (4), problem 1, pp 3-8 Comprehension Test I (5)
- February 23    Aim—Special notice of important details  
                    Procedure—Review of process of selecting main ideas. Contrast this with effort to remember important details. Read article with illustrations on the subject. The students read and selected important details from ten paragraphs ranging from very short to very long (300 words). Aided by outline.  
                    Materials—Hovious (4), pp. 47-53, Ex. 30

During the experimental period the students in the control group pursued their regular study of literature. The main materials were supplied by *Literature and Life*, Book II, Revised edition (7), the book which was also used by the experimental group. Current issues of the *Reader's Digest* were used for supplementary material. The procedure in the control group necessitated a large amount of reading and the discussion of information gained from the reading. The experimenter was careful, however, not to give any class time to specific training in reading skills or to present any ideas from the discussion of the experimental group. The work of the control group was motivated by the class discussion and natural interest they might have in the various subjects read, and perhaps by the factual tests that were given at the end of the study of each unit of literature.

At the end of the twelve weeks' experimental period, the students of both groups were assembled in one room as before and given Form B (Revised) of the Iowa Silent Reading Test, Advanced. Each form of the Reading Test consists of six parts, and each part is scored separately. The scores for the first five parts are to be totaled, making up the Total Comprehension score, and the score for Part 6 is a measure of the Rate of Silent Reading. The Manual of Directions for these tests provides tables of reading-grade norms for the Total Comprehension score and for the Rate of Silent Reading, as well as percentile norms for each of the six component tests and for the Total Comprehension score. Thus improvement in reading during the experimental period could be expressed by the differences in the two sets of grade scores, the differences in the two sets of raw scores, and the differences in the two sets of percentile ranks. The latter two measures proved to be the most discriminating, and of these two the differences in the percentile ranks offered the simplest and the least confusing measure of improvement.

#### FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

As shown in Table I, the experimental group made the greater gain on each set of raw scores, but the difference in gain is not large and on a statistical basis is not very significant. It is worth noting, however, that only about ten per cent in the experimental group made no improvement in total comprehension during the

twelve weeks' period, whereas twenty-seven per cent of the control group were unable to make any progress in this phase of reading.

Table 1

Average Scores and Gains Made by the Experimental and Control Groups in Total Comprehension and in Rate of Silent Reading.

	Total Comprehension		Silent Reading	
	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control
Form A	118.7	111.5	29.7	29.5
Form B	133.1	120.6	35.2	32.9
Gain	14.4	9.1	5.5	3.4

A more detailed picture of the results as indicated by percentile rankings is presented in Table 2. This table shows that, though the gains or losses in rankings were not uniform in all parts of the test, the experimental group made a larger percentage of gain in percentile standing in every test than did the control group, and that the latter group had a larger percentage of losses in ranking than did the experimental group. It should be noted that a large portion of the control group did improve in reading without any direct attempt to effect such improvement and that there were some in the experimental group who did not profit by the special program presented.

Table 2

Percentages of Experimental and Control Groups Making Percentile Gains and Losses

	Gains		Losses	
	% of Experimental Group	% of Control Group	% of Experimental Group	% of Control Group
Test 1	73.5	57.7	17.6	30.7
Test 2	73.5	34.6	17.6	46.1
Test 3	64.7	57.7	23.5	26.9
Test 4	64.7	53.8	32.3	34.6
Test 5	88.2	80.8	3.0	15.4
Total Comprehension Score	85.3	65.4	8.8	23.0
Test 6	82.3	65.4	11.7	23.0

The small number of cases used in this study obviously limits the significance of the results. Furthermore, the program decided upon for the improvement of reading was probably not the most effective one to use, and the length of time of the study was not adequate to show clearly the full possibility of improvement in

reading at the secondary level. Again, inasmuch as only group methods were used in this study, it is not known how effective these methods are in comparison with those related to the recognition and treatment of individual difficulties. Because of the use of only grades as equating criteria, the equivalence of the groups may not have been accurate. This study also does not reveal whether the gain in reading was offset by any loss in knowledge and appreciation of literature. Logically, however, improved reading should facilitate one's understanding and enjoyment of literature. Finally, it should be noted that a more thorough investigation of the problem of reading at the secondary level should involve a study of all the age levels in the secondary school.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Although limited in scope, this study does suggest that improvement in reading on the part of high school students is possible when an instructional program is set up to accomplish that end in connection with the study of literature. This investigation also reveals that improvement in reading may and does occur on the part of many students as a by-product of the study of literature in high school even when an instructor deliberately avoids any direct attempt to improve any phase of reading ability.

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# A COMPARISON OF SCHOLASTIC RANK AND ACTIVITIES OF SENIORS IN EIGHT YAKIMA VALLEY HIGH SCHOOLS

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## PROBLEM

Extra-curricular activities in the secondary school have received increasing emphasis during the last few years. Several kinds of activities are made available even in relatively small schools, various inducements are offered to students for participation in these activities; and for some of these activities specially trained directors or supervisors are provided. Because in common practice no students participate in all of the activities offered in high school and because it is seldom that all students are engaged in the same activity, the actual extent of participation is one deserving of analysis. Furthermore, it would be well to discover if any special factor, such as scholastic ability, is associated with the selection of an activity.

The purpose of the present study, which is necessarily limited in scope, is (1) to determine the extent to which senior students in certain high schools have participated in the program of extra-curricular activities provided by their schools; (2) to investigate the significance of scholastic rank in relation to each of the various activities; and (3) to determine the extent of participation among boys as compared with girls.

## PROCEDURE

The questionnaire method was used to gather the information for this study. Only factual information concerning student participation in the various extra-curricular activities was asked for in the questionnaire. The specific data asked for included the class rank of each senior in the class of 1940 and the number of years that he or she had participated in each of the fourteen activities listed. The activities studied were:

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1 Instrumental music. | 8. Girls' athletics                          |
| 2. Glee Club          | 9 Debate                                     |
| 3 Football            | 10 Student body officers and representatives |
| 4 Basketball          | 11. Yell leaders and assistants              |
| 5 Baseball            | 12. Dramatics                                |
| 6 Track               | 13. Pep club or service organizations        |
| 7. Tennis.            | 14. Journalism or annual staff.              |

These activities were selected by the writer because they were known to be offered in nearly all of the schools to be surveyed and because they would constitute the main part of the extra-curricular program of each school.

The questionnaire was preceded by an approach letter and was sent to the principals of the following high schools in Washington: Ellensburg, Cle Elum, Wapato, Toppenish, Sunnyside, Prosser, Kennewick, and Pasco. These schools are all located in the same general area known as the Yakima valley and were all members of an organization known as the Class A League. Full cooperation was secured from all the schools, and returns from the questionnaire were promptly received with data on 750 seniors. The smallest school reported 43 seniors, and the largest school 147 seniors.

#### FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS

The main findings of this study are presented in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Table 1 shows in a general way the degree of participation in extra-curricular activities on the part of the senior students in each high school. The schools differ somewhat from each other, but some of the more important facts about extent of participation are revealed in the totals and percentages of the eight schools together. This part of the data shows that 195 students, or 26 per cent of the total number of seniors in the eight high schools, had not taken part in any activity while in high school. Another 251 per cent had participated in only one activity. At the other extreme is a small number of students who have taken part in six, seven, or eight different activities. Of those participating in some activity, 56 per cent are girls and 44 per cent are boys.

Table 2 shows the number of seniors in each high school who participated in each of the fourteen activities. The numbers in this table must be interpreted in the light of the fact that some activities by virtue of their nature permit of more participation than other activities do. The schools differ quite markedly in the number of seniors they had in the various activities. One of the smaller schools, number 6, has only two seniors in music, including instrumental music and glee club, but ranks next to the largest school in number of seniors in dramatics and has the largest number in debate. The number of seniors in glee club in the various schools varies from 1 to 38; the number in service organizations varies from 9 to 60; and the number in track varies from none to 18. Some of these variations are no doubt due to the selective



Table 1  
The Extent of Pupil Participation in Activities

School Number	Number of Activities Participated in							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	43	41	29	17	12	4	1	
2	48	47	23	12	8	2		
3	23	12	30	16	13	7	2	
4	14	23	29	19	11	1		
5	24	24	14	15	5	1	2	
6	24	20	11	15	4	1	1	
7	13	11	17	5	4	5	1	1
8	6	10	2	7	8	8		2
Total	195	188	155	106	65	29	7	3
Percentage	26	25.1	20.1	14.1	8.7	3.9	.9	.4

factors existing within each school, such as available equipment, special inducements offered, and possibly the prestige of the director in charge.

Table 2  
Number of Participants in Each Activity from Each School

School Number	Activities*													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	15	39	12	10		18	4	31	5	4	2	29	27	28
2	7	25	12	10	7	11	5	12	3	14	1	24	27	12
3	13	35	10	8	11	4	5	16	4	9	2	18	60	23
4	6	38	12	4	6	7	3	23		7	1	21	48	9
5	22	6	8	6		10	1	14	2	17	1	11	25	9
6	1	1	11	7		4	6	2	6	10	3	26	9	22
7	10	25	5	4	4		3	10	3	10	2	17	20	16
8	5	20	8	11	4	7	1	7	1	5	1	16	26	9
Total	79	189	78	60	32	61	28	115	24	76	13	162	242	128

\* The numbers 1 to 14 heading the columns of figures in this table represent the activities as listed in the third paragraph of the article.

Table 3 shows the participation in each activity according to decile ratings which indicate the relative rankings in each class. The eight schools are considered together. All but a few activities draw students from each of the ten deciles, but the distribution within each activity varies considerably and shows that scholarship operates as a selective factor in the choice of at least some of the activities. The most marked selection occurs in debate, where eleven of the twenty-four students are found in the first decile and all but two in the upper five deciles. Other

selective trends, such as in elections to student body offices and in participation in journalism, are clearly indicated by comparing the totals for the upper 50 per cent with those for the lower 50 per cent. In only four activities—football, basketball, baseball, and track—are there more participants in the lower 50 per cent than in the upper 50 per cent. The data also show that about 60 per cent of those participating in activities are in the upper half of their class in scholastic ranking. More girls than boys are in the upper deciles, and more boys than girls in the lower deciles. The data show that 68 per cent in the highest decile are girls and 43 per cent of those in the lowest decile are girls. There was an almost equal distribution of the sexes among the 750 senior students used in this study.

A fair evaluation of the results presented should take into consideration certain limiting factors. Only one class was surveyed from each school; this one class may or may not have been representative with respect to scholarship or with reference to participation in activities. Though a general measure of scholarship was indicated in terms of class rank, no measure of excellence of performance in the activities

Table 3  
Extent of Participation in Each Activity According to Decile Ranking  
All eight schools are considered together

Decile	Activities*													
	1	2	3	4	5†	6‡	7	8	9°	10	11	12	13	14
1	16	27	4	6	2	2	4	10	11	20	4	31	31	20
2	9	21	2	1	2	6	4	17	5	11		19	31	24
3	7	29	6	2	2	3	2	17	3	14	2	19	33	14
4	9	17	8	6	2	4	3	10	2	10	1	12	22	11
5	6	17	10	10	5	9	4	20	1	6	1	16	30	12
6	11	15	5	5	7	6	3	11	1	4		21	18	9
7	5	22	9	9	5	10		10		6	1	16	21	9
8	3	12	7	6		7	3	10		3	2	13	21	5
9	10	14	14	7	2	8	5	2	1	1		10	19	
10	3	15	13	8	5	6		8		1	2	5		
Number in upper 50% of class	47	111	30	25	13	24	17	74	22	61	8	97	147	95
Number in lower 50% of class	32	78	48	35	19	37	11	41	2	15	5	65	95	33
Total	79	189	78	60	32	61	28	115	24	76	13	162	242	128

\* The numbers 1 to 14 below represent the activities as listed on p. 344.

† Only 5 schools had this activity.

‡ Only 7 schools had this activity.

° Only 7 schools had this activity.

was attempted. In the same activity some students probably deserve the highest rating and received considerable benefit, whereas others probably made only a mediocre or a poor record and received very little benefit from the activity.

It is very probable also that physical condition, aptitude, the time available, and many other factors besides scholarship would determine the underlying reason for the selection or non-selection of an activity.

#### PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

It is essential that, when a school offers an extra-curricular program, it should have a clear picture of the manner in which such a program functions—that is, the nature and extent of student participation in the extra-curricular activities. This study has revealed that, when a program of extra-curricular activities is offered in a high school, approximately 75 per cent of the students participate in at least one such activity and about 50 per cent participate in more than one activity. These findings are probably quite representative of the condition in the modern high school. Thus, if a high school is to provide the most successful extra-curricular program, it should whenever possible offer a variety of suitable and useful activities. It should also provide competent guidance to insure that students understand the advantage of participation in extra-curricular activities, especially those which afford the greatest educational advantages and benefits from the point of view of the individual pupil's needs.

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